

AUTHORING THE GERMAN "OTHER":  
A SEMIOTIC, NARRATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS  
OF THE CULTURE BOX IN BEGINNING L2 GERMAN TEXTBOOKS

by  
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## DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURE BOX IN BEGINNING

L2 GERMAN TEXTBOOKS

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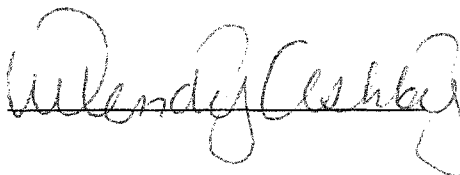
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SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Wendy Ceshky", written over a horizontal line.



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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to change . . .

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## ABSTRACT

Recent trends in immigration to the German speaking countries have contributed to a new multi-cultural demographic in the “culture boxes” of L2 German textbooks. A close analysis of their content, however, reveals a racist discourse that promotes and reinforces a power-based, hegemonic majority culture at the expense of minorities, as well as materials that reinforce U.S. American cultural values at the expense of German ones by imagining a community of German speakers that meets U.S. national identity needs. Utilizing tools from the fields of semiotics, critical discourse analysis and cultural studies, the dissertation demonstrates how both racism toward the German “Other” and U.S. American ethnocentrism are promoted by discourse strategies including but not limited to: narration, indexicality, myth, metaphor and metonym.

This dissertation views and comments on the L2 German textbook from the perspective of text itself, the culture therein represented, and the users of the materials, proposing that “reading” the L2 German textbook from a Cultural Studies perspective effectively addresses current theories about culture teaching and disciplinarity while bringing basic language learners into a much-advocated arena of critical thinking about the self and others. Such activities align basic language instruction more closely with beliefs about the responsibilities and goals of Humanities and General Education teaching in the United States.



**INTRODUCTION**

**HUMANIZING A GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE HUMANITIES:  
“DOING” CULTURE STUDIES WITH THE BASIC LANGUAGE GERMAN  
TEXTBOOK**

In their comprehensive resource book *A User's Guide to German Cultural Studies*, Denham, Kacandes, and Petropoulos (1997) set out to outline the parameters of the field of German Cultural Studies for both instructors and students. The articles collected in this anthology include, among others, commentaries and observations on the whys and hows of German Studies it relates to literature (Bammer, 1997), media concerns (Berger, 1997), political history (Bartov, 1997a; Giles, 1997a; Rogowski, 1997a; Ryback, 1997), multiculturalism (Teraoka, 1997), colonialism (Zantop, 1997a), and German national identity (Applegate, 1997; Belgum, 1997; McFalls, 1997a; Spaulding, 1997) from various German and U.S. American perspectives.

In addition to theoretical commentaries, pedagogical concerns are addressed including the role of translated works of literature in the 21<sup>st</sup> century German classroom (Willson, 1997), the teaching of German culture via case studies (Ortmayer, 1997), interdisciplinarity and methodology in German teaching (Hunt, 1997a), and practical advice for solid scholarly activity and publication in the field of German Studies (Gilman, 1997). The culmination of this varied collection is the practical application section following the pedagogical commentary simply entitled “Tools.”

This proverbial toolbox includes sample DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) prize-winning course syllabi (Berdahl & Bergerson, 1997; Berman, 1997; Hunt, 1997b; Kacandes, 1997); Internet tips (Rogers, 1997); information on directories, resources, journals and funding agencies for German cultural studies; and

selected annotated bibliographies. It also includes a series of “How to . . .” classroom handouts by various authors outlining how, from a German cultural studies perspective, to: read a poem (Ryan, 1997), view a building (Miller & Denham, 1997), view a film (Gemünden, 1997), listen to western music (Leventhal, 1997), view a painting (Petropoulos, 1997), read a play (Rogowski, 1997b), view a performance (Gilpin, 1997), read a novel (Denham & Kacandes, 1997), read history (Bartov, 1997b), read statistics (McFalls, 1997b), and use an archive (Giles, 1997b).

Interestingly, the “How to . . .” section of the anthology lacks what I view to be an important and fundamental category: how to read a German language textbook. For it is precisely via this particular text that most students who profess even the slightest interest in things German are exposed to information which provides them, beyond a rudimentary grasp of the structure of the German language and some basic vocabulary, with information about the German-speaking realm and the speakers of its languages and dialects.

### **Disciplinarity and the L2 German Classroom**

The L2 German basic language classroom, often as part of general education requirements, tends to be the first and often the only structured, systematic, and extended exposure that many U.S. students will have to the lives and culture of individuals in the German speaking realm. However, a relatively recent German Marshall Fund report entitled *Mixed Messages: The State of Contemporary German in the United States* (Janes & Scher, 1987), noted that graduate preparation in German consisted of “degrees . . . awarded only in literature or philology, though graduate minors in German Studies are possible at some universities” (p. 9) and recommended that “some of the departments . . . would nevertheless do well to consider increasing the scope of their programs [by adding] contemporary German affairs, cultural influences on political and social development,

and effective teaching techniques [to] greatly improve the preparation of college teachers of German” (p. 13). The late 1990s began to see the first graduates of truly interdisciplinary Ph.D. programs in German Cultural Studies emerge.

This demonstrates a historical reality that post-secondary German instructors have often been and sometimes still are ill-prepared for undergraduate language teaching, and that their preparation in said realm clearly suffers under the language/literature/culture rift. These realities spill over into the realm of undergraduate enrollments, causing recent nationwide declines as a result. The traditional pursuit of disciplines has forced apart a natural association between text and experience and has fragmented knowledge instead of adding to it. The realization that strict disciplinarity has contributed to a decline in post-secondary L2 German enrollments across the country prompted Van Cleve and Willson in their 1993 book *Remarks on the Needed Reform of German Studies in the United States* to propose a new approach offering a solid, integrative answer to the recent question of traditional, literature-based Germanistik vs. modern, interdisciplinary German Cultural Studies at post-secondary institutions in the United States.

Their suggestions are anchored in the writings and theories advanced by some of the most prominent thinkers in the field of Cultural Studies, including

Jacques Derrida’s notion of an all-encompassing textuality, Clifford Geertz’s cultural anthropology, Mikhail Bakhtin’s and Julia Kristeva’s concept of dialogism and intertextuality and, most importantly, Michel Foucault’s text-archaeological analysis of discourses and their relations to power [as well as] Benjamin’s claim that the past stands as a dynamic, constantly shifting constellation to the present moment. (Kaes, 1989, pp. 210-211)

In relation to these theories, which move text towards and even beyond context, specific suggestions for reform in German Studies include the “conceptual and institutional integration of language proficiency, cultural theory and social criticism

[implementing], from an American perspective, an anthropological model of interdisciplinarity in German Studies” (Seeba, 1989, p. 153) and the “transformation from *Germanistik* to German Studies from [focus strictly on] the literary text to reflection on how the discipline and the institution inform the way a variety of texts are placed in specific contexts - national, critical, academic, or pedagogic, inside and outside the classroom, in teaching as well as in research” (Peck, 1989, p. 185). One of the texts that can and must be fruitfully placed and analyzed in this manner is the L2 textbook itself.

### **Humanizing a General Education in the Humanities**

The extent to and the manner in which the introductory language text addresses these issues has a direct impact on how the majority of U.S. American L2 German students, passing briefly through the halls of the German (Culture Studies) department as foreign language requirement fillers, understands what it means to be German. In other words, “for better or for worse, the textbook or the sequence of textbooks being used often drives the individual course syllabus as well as the overall curriculum” (Byrnes, 1988, p. 29).

Students’ cultural understanding can be derived by the reinforcement of cultural ideas brought with them into the L2 German classroom, the refutation of said cultural ideas, and/or the creation of brand new ones with their genesis specific to the L2 course of study and the materials used therein. For the student who shows even minimal interest in the study and exploration of things German, evidenced at the language entry point of the basic German classroom, the transformation that Peck (1989) speaks of begins with interesting, vibrant teaching based on a new definition and understanding of the

relationship between text and context in the German speaking realm, using the very text to which the beginning L2 German student has exposure - the basic language text itself.

Such a guiding statement for L2 teaching and textbook use is perhaps illustrated in the following definition of German Studies. Though written to highlight a potential relationship between German Studies and literature teaching, the word “literature” can easily be replaced with “L2 culture” or even “German language textbook” to gain an insight into the refreshing new and “unclaimed territory” that this provides for the basic language instructor:

German studies (the study of things German) is, on the most general level, an inquiry into what *German* means: who and what is German? how so and why? This also, on a certain level, is what much of German literature is about. It too, in countless forms - from the work of Heinrich Heine to that of Thomas Mann, from the writings of Bettina von Arnim to those of Saliha Scheinhardt - asks about the who and what. But, most insistently, literature probes the how so and why: how are attachments formed that constitute our identity within social formations and what can cause us to detach? What does it mean to a person to be included or excluded from a particular group? What does it *feel* like to be called German or to be denied that name? The objective of literature is subjectivity. And, so, it asks what German means in the particular experience of specific subjects and how it can mean differently depending on what has been done to them in that name. Literature, one could say, represents meaning in terms of love and loss; it weighs history on the scales of memory. (Bammer, 1997, p. 33)

Just as this statement illustrates in the case of traditional literary works, German Cultural Studies too has much to offer in the realm of the basic language, bridging a gap between language pedagogy and critical pedagogy in the language classroom.

In his essay “Doing Cultural Studies in Colleges of Education,” Henry Giroux (1997) makes some observations about the potential of Cultural Studies to reform

education curricula that I believe can and should be applied to the L2 basic language context. His *first consideration* revolves around learning as a construct of

. . . cultural differences, power and history [that] provides fertile theoretical ground for taking up pedagogy as an act of decentering, a form of transit and border crossing, a way of constructing an intercultural politics in which dialog, exchange, and translation take place across different communities, national boundaries and regional borders. (p. 33)

The model of Cultural Studies places a major emphasis on the study of language, viewing it as a tool used to “fashion social identities and secure specific forms of authority [creating a need] to analyze how language functions to include or exclude certain meanings, secure or marginalize particular ways of behaving and produce or prevent certain pleasures and desires” (p. 34).

When viewing language usage and choice as a “site of social contestation” (Giroux, 1997, p. 35), it becomes critical for students to have a solid and analytical command of German in order to understand the wider implications of text. Studying grammar and vocabulary need no longer be mere drill and kill activities for the purpose of decontextualized mastery, rather, a finer tool to add to their acquisitions in a General Education, Humanities oriented context. The rift between language, literature and culture in Departments of German causes a vital aspect of Cultural Studies to be marginalized if not altogether ignored. As Seeba (1989) points out, “literary theory and language training have become divergent in both quantity and quality” (p. 146). This applies to culture training as well. He points out that allowing this gap to grow spells the demise of the potential role in the Humanities which German Studies as an expression of language and

text within a social context can serve, relegating the field instead to a “service function in language training” (p. 146).

Although this does not represent all of Giroux’s (1997) thoughts on Cultural Studies, the final point of his that I would like to mention is that Cultural Studies “places a strong emphasis on linking the curriculum to the experiences that students bring to their encounter with institutionally legitimated knowledge [including] mass culture, popular culture, youth culture, and other aspects of student knowledge” (p. 36). It is in exploiting that link via the contents of the culture box that the basic language classroom and the materials in its realm can serve as a true gateway into the study of things German and a true introduction to the German language proper.

### ***Representation and Text***

The term “cultural theory” has its genesis in Great Britain in the 1950s and was used in conjunction with the concept of “communication theory” by its founders, John Dewey and Raymond Williams, to define a new area of study concerned with the manner in which society, economy, and politics intersect and are communicated through the mass culture which defines modernity in producing and assigning meaning to the individuals living within that culture (Grossberg, 1997). It is a field of study concerning itself with

. . . the beginnings of late capitalism, the new forms of economic and political colonialism and imperialism, the existence of racism within the so-called democratic world, the place of culture and ideology in relations of power, and the effects of consumer capitalism upon the working class and their cultures. (p. 198)

As is the case in the basic language classroom, Cultural Studies is a field identified with the original object of its study - communication - though this field

specifically seeks to “establish a series of correspondences . . . between culture, ideology, communication, community, experience, and intersubjectivity” (Grossberg, 1997, p. 206). Instead of being concerned with texts themselves, “cultural studies was to explore the points at which the value-laden structures of society intersect and interact with the psychic life of individuals represented in cultural texts” (p. 208). From this description, one can clearly relate cultural studies and its concerns to the content of the L2 basic German textbook culture box. As an extension of that concern, this dissertation aims in part to explore the intersection of depicted individuals represented in the culture texts of the basic language classroom with the value-laden products of a U.S. L2 market.

Because it introduces social, political, economic, and gender issues into the discussion of German language learning and its cultural products in the basic language textbook, cultural studies in the basic language classroom can serve to highlight the “intersection of textuality and experience and the task of criticism” (Grossberg, 1997, p. 201), examining how the minority is represented by the majority and considering the relationships between signification and power. Not only does this tie German language courses more closely into broader goals for General Education and Humanities requirements, it also reinstates a natural association between text and experience, and between literature, language, and culture that has been traditionally, and unnaturally, forced apart, fragmenting knowledge instead of adding to it.

This dissertation is dedicated to moving closer to these broader goals by starting with the basic language textbook. It will examine both German, English, and German to English translations of texts from the culture sites of L2 German textbooks within a



German Cultural Studies framework using a semiotic, discourse analytical, linguistic anthropological approach to data analysis for the purpose of identifying and commenting on how language is used to construct, represent and communicate ideas and ideologies about the “Other.”

In line with recent pedagogical trends that place the foreign language/culture teacher and learner in the position of “ethnographer” of sorts, so too are the most recent texts used by teachers and learners well-illuminated by the discipline that lies at the crossroads of cultural anthropology and the study of language. This is because

. . . linguistic anthropology starts from the theoretical assumption that words matter and from the empirical finding that linguistic signs as representations of the world and connections to the world are never neutral: they are constantly used for the construction of cultural affinities and cultural differentiations. (Duranti, 1997, p. 5)

This kind of cultural construction necessitates that the discipline of cultural studies provide an overall framework for the discussion. In addition, cultural studies as a field derives from communication theory, from which semiotics as a discipline is also partially derived. While semiotics and communication theory “share much of the same conceptual and methodological territory, communication theorists generally focus more on the study of message-making as a process, whereas semioticians center their attention more on *what* a message means and on *how* it creates meaning” (Danesi, 1994, p. 5). Both the process and the outcome are important components of this project.

Because both signification and the making of meaning within relational contexts are fundamental to the data analysis in later chapters, the culture box as an entity is considered for the purposes of this dissertation to be a marked, semiotic,

argumentative/ideological, narrative message engaged in political representation of the “Other.” In addition, the culture box is assumed to be engaged in intertextual dialog with L2 learners within the larger context of the foreign language textbook. Finally, it is also considered to be one of the building blocks of U.S. American public metaphor and myth about the inhabitants of German-speaking countries.

### **“Doing” Culture Studies With the Basic Language Text**

This dissertation aims to demonstrate the “how to” of reading the L2 German textbook in the spirit of a German Cultural Studies framework. It will take the reader from a historical overview of culture teaching and L2 German textbooks, through a theoretical outline of the signification processes involved in doing culture studies with the basic language textbook, and finally, to a demonstration of how these processes are realized as the dissertation chapters progress. In the process, the following questions will be addressed: What are the theoretical and methodological underpinnings that have informed culture teaching in the U.S. since World War II? How are those trends represented in current L2 materials? Which semiotic systems are present and analyzable in the cultural materials of L2 German textbooks? Who constitutes the L2 German culture box? How are they portrayed?

Further questions that are asked of this dissertation include: How does discourse analysis illuminate the contents of the culture box in terms of the politics of representation, the legitimization of power, the cultural basis of racism, and the cultural constructions of self and other? Which power and national identity ideologies specific to the German speaking realm are reinforced via the contents of the culture box? How do

portrayals of the “Other” affect cognitive processing and formation of prejudices and stereotypes? How do textbook culture materials relate to basic language instruction? And finally, what should be done with knowledge gained about the L2 culture box?

In addition to perhaps answering or shedding some theoretical light onto these questions, the dissertation aims to continue a line of research on culture portrayals in the U.S. American L2 German textbook conducted from after World War II until approximately the mid-1980s. Its goal is to provide both a deeper and a broader understanding of cultural materials in the German classroom as they present themselves in the most current editions of popular beginning L2 German texts, all of which have been published since 1999.

In order of new adoptions as of the printing of Olsen’s (2000) *Die Unterrichtspraxis* article “First- and second-year textbooks: Which ones we use and how” the textbooks that make up the analyzed corpus are: *Kontakte* (Terrell, Tschirner, & Nikolai, 2000), published by McGraw-Hill; *Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999), published by Houghton Mifflin; *Deutsch heute* (Moeller, Adolph, Hoecherl-Alden, & Lalande, 2000), published by Houghton Mifflin; *Deutsch: Na klar!* (DiDonato, Clyde, & Vansant, 2000), published by McGraw-Hill; *Wie geht’s?* (Sevin & Sevin, 2000), published by Heinle; *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999), published by Prentice Hall; and *Vorsprung* (Lovik, Guy, & Chavez, 2002), published by Houghton Mifflin. In addition to the texts outlined in Olsen’s (2000) study, one additional textbook series, *Fokus Deutsch 1 & 2* (Finger et. al., 2000a, 2000b) was included because of its

stated focus on culture as the fundamental basis of the text as opposed to the traditional culture box.

### ***How to Read a German Textbook***

The triadic ideas of Charles Sanders Peirce provide one of the primary bases of an overall textbook materials analysis grounded in semiotics, as well as a template for the overall organization of the dissertation. Thus, various chapters can be shown primarily to illuminate the cultural materials of the L2 German textbook from one of three perspectives: that of the textbook itself (what Peirce would refer to as the sign), from that of the culture represented (what Peirce would refer to as the object), and from that of the reader/user (what Peirce would refer to as the interpretant). While Chapter 1 serves as a historical grounding for the interplay of all of these processes, the sign perspective of the textbook is illuminated in Chapter 2. The object perspective of the represented German culture is thematized heavily in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Finally, the interpretant perspective of the L2 German textbook user is addressed in the concluding remarks.

### ***Unlocking the Culture Box***

Chapter 1 - “Unlocking the Culture Box: The History, Pedagogy and Methodology of Teaching L2 Culture” gives a chronological overview of the manner in which culture has been classified, outlining both theoretical anthropological and applied classroom approaches to culture teaching in the L2 classroom since World War II. The historical and methodological reason that makes this particular point in time significant to culture teaching in the L2 classroom (henceforth referred to as C2) in the United States is discussed. The chapter outlines the manner in which goal and standard setting for C2

teaching was established and has evolved in the past fifty years. Goal and standard setting translated into curricular models and associated classroom teaching strategies and techniques, which are also outlined chronologically in this chapter. Finally, a brief overview of the contents of L2 German textbooks from the 1950s to the mid 1980s is given in relation to how well such texts have satisfied the various culture teaching criteria paradigms that have been developed as the result of ongoing research and inquiry into the field of C2.

### *Constructing the “Other”*

The processes involved in signification and meaning making from the perspective of the textbook as sign are outlined in Chapter 2 - “Constructing the ‘Other’: Semiotics, Discourse Analysis and Cultural Studies as Ideology Analysis.” The chapter will demonstrate the widening theoretical progression of culture box texts from a semiotic state of markedness through proposition/argument, narration, intertextual communication and metaphor beginning with Peircian sign phenomenology, progressing through Barthesian mythology and Saussurean paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, and culminating in the Jakobsonian dichotomy of syntagmized paradigm and metonymic frozen syntagm.

The theoretical and methodological paradigms of discourse analysis including narrative structure, indexicality, markedness theory, and metaphor are shown to parallel semiotic processes and are explored based on the premise that this collectively constitutes “ideology analysis” (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 17). The chapter will lay down a basic framework for identifying and understanding second and third order sign systems in semiotic theory (Barthes, 1964), shedding light on the manner in which ideology is reflected by discourse

accomplished via sign systems. Finally, it will comment on the phenomena of imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) and mythologies (Barthes, 1957) as they intersect specifically with German colonial fantasies (Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox, & Zantop, 1998) and imaginings about the Oriental, exotic “Other” (Said, 1978).

Taking all of this information into account, the chapter culminates in a new theoretical framework for the analysis of the process from firstness to meaning by which the L2 culture box can be effectively analyzed. This framework illustrates the Jakobsonian dichotomy as it exists at the intersection of Peircian signification, Barthesian myth-making, and Saussurain paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes aligned with *langue* and *parole*, respectively. The observation specific to this data set and the conclusion to the chapter is that L2 culture box textual narratives align themselves with properties represented on the paradigmatic axis, while narration outside of the marked boundaries of the culture box align themselves with properties represented by the syntagmatic axis.

### ***Curating the Exotic***

While the first two chapters outline the “how to” of reading the L2 culture box, the next three chapters deal with the results and outcomes of this type of “reading.” Chapter 3 - “Curating the Exotic: The Relics of the Culture Box” views cultural materials in part from the point of view of object, or in other words, German culture itself. It contains a quantitative, non-inferential tally of textbook culture box data and demonstrates via Anderson’s (1991) conceptual functions of the colonial map, museum and census outlined in his book *Imagined Communities* what “reading” an L2 German textbook through the lens of linguistic anthropology reveals about the “politics of

representation, the constitution of authority, the legitimation of power, the cultural basis of racism and ethnic conflict, the process of socialization, [and] the cultural construction of the person” (Duranti, 1997, pp. 3-4) with regard to those specimens of the “Other” who are featured in the culture box.

Those marked specimens will be demonstrated to include: The Swiss German, the Austrian German, the East German, The Ethnic German, The German Mother, and finally, The German-Born Turkish Guest Worker. A historical overview of the forces that shape the culture box portrayals of said marked specimens is given, demonstrating that economy, gender, sexuality, colonization and consumption are the driving forces behind these texts and that decades and even centuries old sign processes are recycled and used effectively to maintain the centrality of the West German and the relegation of all Others to the margin.

### *Not Just Telling Stories*

Continuing the thread of Other representation in a more specific manner, Chapter 4 - “Not Just Telling Stories: Myth, Connotation, Narrative, and Indexicality as Public Discourse” takes a specific look at narrative discourses of, by, and about the textbook “Other,” positing a new type of “ideological narrative” modeled on Van Dijk’s (1997) argumentative narrative and tied directly into various identifiable mythologies (Barthes, 1957). This chapter demonstrates that narratives by the Other are often constituted by blurred first/third person “self-portrayals” that serve to reinforce ideological, petit-bourgeois practices of denying or converting that which is different. It also demonstrates that the more different the Other is from the majority, the more

complex and numerous the employment of linguistic tools in the culture box in order to neutralize difference.

In this chapter, three “first person” narratives by a German Other are shown to be effectively aligned with an entrenched, public, and subconscious myths as outlined in Barthes’ (1957) *Mythologies*. Ethnic German Ida Jobe will be demonstrated via her narrative to fall right in line with the myth of *The Lost Continent*, in which the boundaries between the Orient and the Occident are blurred to the benefit of the majority and the denial of history. In a similar vein, former East Germans Ulrike and Matthias Sperber are shown via their narrative to conform beautifully to an entertaining Barthesian “Operation Margarine” commentary somewhat akin to the modern “I can’t believe it’s not butter!” and Folgers decaffeinated coffee discourses found in television commercials. Finally, the process repeats itself once again in the case of Fatma Yützel, the daughter of textbook Turkish Guest Workers, whose entirely too self-incriminating story will be demonstrated to align with Barthes’ (1957) “Great Family of Man” myth in which difference and human universality become relative and blurred, again to the disadvantage of the minority.

Both Chapters 3 and 4 serve to place the currently most-employed L2 German textbooks in the United States squarely within a German Cultural Studies framework that bridges language, literature and culture teaching and briefly points to a somewhat unique phenomenon therein that posits individual people as representative of national German “culture.” As with Chapter 3, Chapter 4 also provides the point of view of the object, both in the sense of the German culture as the object portrayed in a complex signification



process, as well as in the sense that the first person subjects of the portrayals are, in all actuality, third person objects who are objectified as such.

### *Not Just Living Lies*

Chapter 5 - “Not Just Living Lies: Metaphor, Metonymy and Public Discourse as Truth Propositions” highlights the effect of the marked contents of the culture box on the metaphors and discourses of unmarked textbook territories outside of the culture box, demonstrating that the textbook takes on its own discourse mirroring the discourse in the marked areas of the culture box. Metaphor as a basic conceptual framework for everyday life, akin to the properties of myth, is discussed and discourse strategies such as part for whole analogies based on metaphor and the metonymic that underlie them are shown to create problematic metaphors that relate the Other to negative social categories such as diseases and otherwise malfunctioning parts of a system. Some clear discourses that result in the L2 German textbook are demonstrated to include an “Other Does Not Belong in Germany” discourse as well as an “Other Cannot Speak German” discourse.

### *A Topographical Map of Where We Are/Go From Here*

The concluding chapter “ ‘Doing’ Culture Studies from the Culture Box: Mapping Where We Go From Here” views and comments on the cultural materials of the L2 German text from the point of view of the sign (the text itself), the object (the culture represented) and the interpretant (the users of the text). It points out from a cognitive and social standpoint what effects these texts potentially have on L2 German language learners’ attitudes toward the self as well as toward various speakers of German. The dissertation is concluded with a discussion of pedagogical concerns raised by this data, as

well as commentary on further work that needs to be done on the contents of the L2

German culture box in the 21<sup>st</sup> century classroom. Let us first, however, gain an overview of the L2 German culture box of the 20<sup>th</sup> century textbook.

**CHAPTER 1**  
**UNLOCKING THE CULTURE BOX:**  
**THE HISTORY, PEDAGOGY, AND METHODOLOGY OF**  
**TEACHING L2 CULTURE**

The explicit instruction of L2 culture (henceforth C2) in the U.S. foreign language classroom did not factor largely in the shifting methodological emphases of grammar, reading, writing, speaking/pronunciation, listening and, much later, vocabulary until after World War II. Prior to this time, access to C2 was equated with the translation and mastery of written works of canonical literature in the L2 considered representative of the best cultural-aesthetic products of said linguistic realm. However, the post-war backdrop of the 1960s coinciding with a general awareness of culture in society and an emerging cultural studies movement in Europe resulted in the emerging prevalence of a more anthropological/ behavioral approach to culture in the U.S. American L2 classroom. The emergence of a C2 user-based ethnographic approach to culture and L2 language learning had four distinctive and lasting effects on classroom language and culture teaching and research:

- (1) the classification of culture according to a descriptive, analytic scheme; (2) the establishment of specific instructional goals for the teaching of culture, (3) the development of techniques, strategies and materials designed to involve learners actively in learning culture and to integrate culture study with language study; and (4) the creation of new curricular models designed to mesh the teaching of language with the teaching of culture. (Allen, 1985, p. 143)

The following material is divided along these four lines and a chronological overview of each category's development is given.

For the purposes of this dissertation, only those general taxonomies developed after World War II will be outlined as this represents a pivotal event in the specific chronology of both L2 and C2 instruction in the United States. As mentioned earlier, the Reading Approach endorsed by the Modern Language Association as a response to a lack of qualified and fluent L2 teachers in the United States made an explicit though oversimplified link between the teaching of language and culture. The popularity and acceptance of the Reading Approach from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until World War II posited that “culture . . . taken as the study of great literature, was [to be] viewed as the ultimate objective of second language instruction” (Allen, 1985, p. 138).

However, this explicit link between language, literature and culture was severed by World War II, which represented a turning point for the United States in its assessment of and response to national needs in foreign language education. Whereas prior to World War II it was both acceptable and a mark of a well-rounded and educated language user to have a reading knowledge of the great works of another culture in the original, wartime needs turned the focus of L2 teaching to produce fluent spoken users of the language who could interact proficiently with native speakers.

This rupture in the historio-theoretical development regarding the teaching of L2 also affects the teaching of C2 and makes post World War II theories about language and culture in general a good starting point for the purposes of this dissertation. It is precisely after this chronological rupture that the concern with teaching culture moved from “Big

C” to “little c” (Steele, 1989, p. 155) and from literature to language learning (Brooks, 1968).

### A Post-War Chronology of Descriptive Analytic Schemes for Classifying the Nature of Culture

In 1959, Edward T. Hall published a taxonomy of “formal” culture in his book *The Silent Language*. This grid of sorts was based on what he believed were Ten Primary Message Systems as outlined in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

#### *Hall’s Taxonomy of Formal Culture*

---

Interaction	human interaction with the environment
Association	family and other associations
Subsistence	food, shelter, clothing
Bisexuality	use of body
Territoriality	space
Temporality	time
Learning	cultural and social knowledge
Play	recreation and leisure activities
Defense	maintaining boundaries between insider/outsider
Exploitation	work systems and resources

---

Each of these categories was listed both across and down, creating 100 contact points that served to describe each in relation to the other nine (Brooks, 1968, p. 213).

A simpler, though relatively unheard of breakdown of culture which followed in 1961 was the Kluckhohn Model. This particular model was based on the concept of community value orientation and posited that “there are a limited number of common problems that all communities face and a limited range of possible solutions to those problems” (Jourdain, 1998, p. 443). This model consisted of five orientations toward the nature of humankind based on community response and set out to answer the questions outlined in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2

*The Kluckhohn Model of Community Values and Cultural Orientations*

Orientation	Question Answered
Human Nature Orientation	What is the character of human nature?
Man-Nature Orientation	What is the relation of man to nature?
Time Orientation	What is the temporal focus of human life?
Activity Orientation	What is the modality of human activity?
Relational Orientation	What is the modality of man’s relationship to other men?

A cross-cultural range of variation within each of these orientations was achieved in this model through observation of and comparison between various cultures, representing what can be viewed as a sort of cultural contrastive analysis.

These attempts to map general cultural concepts were not, at least in their raw forms, directly applicable to teaching C2 in the L2 classroom. While Hall’s (1959) taxonomy would later be used to define a broad matrix of German life for teachers and

students of C2 German culture (Troyanovich, 1972) - an attempt subsequently criticized for its contrastive superficiality (Gutschow, 1973) and potentially harmful effects on learner stereotypes (Tinsley & Woloshin, 1974) - the identification of the Ten Primary Message Systems still was not felt to address the need for a

. . . comprehensive definition of culture . . . a synthesis of culture as viewed by the scientist on the one hand and the humanist on the other into an orderly and coherent program that can be meaningful in terms of the daily happenings in language classes at earlier stages of instruction. (Brooks, 1968, p. 208)

After defining a general profile of culture similar to Hall's (1959) which included: Symbolism, Value, Authority, Order, Ceremony, Love, Honor, Humor, Beauty, and Spirit, Brooks (1968) moved from theory to a concrete, five-tiered definition of culture specifically for the foreign language classroom. This consisted of five separate cultures, as outlined in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3

*Brooks' Five Tiered Definition of Culture*

---

Culture 1	Biological Growth
Culture 2	Personal Refinement
Culture 3	Literature and the Fine Arts
Culture 4	Patterns for Living
Culture 5	Sum Total Way of Life

---

While Culture 3 had traditionally dominated the U.S. American C2 teaching scene, Culture 4 came to be viewed in this model as the most important in the early phases of second language instruction. This posits culture to be

anthropological in orientation [and] divides [it] further into two distinct, yet overlapping and complimentary spheres termed ‘formal culture’ and ‘deep culture.’ [The former] defines the individual’s relationship to the world of aesthetic expression as well as to the social, economic, political, and religious structures of society; [the latter] is characterized instead as ‘a slow, persistent, life-long process that begins in infancy and does not cease until death.’ (Allen, 1985, p. 139)

Once proficiency in Culture Four was gained, Cultures Three and Five could gradually be added according to the learner’s competence.

As research in and experimentation with L2 learning became more prevalent in the 1970s, involvement with C2 learning followed suit. This was in response to increasing lament of the state of culture teaching in the U.S. and the focus of the profession on improving this area of instruction, as evidenced by the Spring 1971 issue of *Die Unterrichtspraxis* entitled “Focus on German Culture and Civilization,” the 1971 *Northeast Conference Report* “Professional Responsibilities” section asserting that the profession needed to move to an emphasis on language as culture, and a February 1972 *Accent on ACTFL* report stating that “culture is no longer supplemental, but rather the pivot around which language is taught” (Loew, 1972, p. 7). Still working on descriptive analytical schemes for culture, language researchers developed several new taxonomies for profiling and understanding both culture in general and C2 in more specific terms.

In 1974, Tinsley and Woloshin rejected the purely contrastive focus of comparative cultural analysis in the context of C2 German teaching, stating that “since



both German and American cultures are Western, the differences are most often in degree or aspect rather than in substance” (p. 126). They advocated the idea of a deep culture that informed the surface practices outlined by Troyanovich (1972), and they subsequently identified five universal problems of cultural orientation that they felt to be common to all human groups. These problems were identified as indicated in Table 1.4:

Table 1.4

*Tinsley and Woloshin's Universal Deep Culture Orientations*

---

Human Nature	Individual as Part of Universal Order
	Humanity as Acquired Characteristic
Social Relations	Primacy of Social Function Over Individual
	Vertically vs. Horizontally Constructed Societies
Man and Nature	Supremacy/Dependence of Man/Nature
Time	Place of Man in Time
Space	Place of Man in Space

---

Using this framework, the researchers produced a comparative analysis of German and American cultural practices that served to ground the manifested surface structures as outgrowths of deep culture while inferring from observable cultural phenomena to promote understanding of action and reaction given conceptual realities based in part on differences of history and political circumstances.

Shortly thereafter in 1977, Pfister and Borzilleri returned to Hall's (1959) original Primary Message System in order to create a classification system addressing the formal

and informal characteristics of the deep culture. Combining the original ten message systems into five, their classification is outlined in Table 1.5.

Table 1.5

*Pfister and Borzilleri's Formal and Informal Characteristics of Deep Culture*

---

Family Unit and Personal Sphere	housing and surroundings brother/sister relationships child care eating shopping defense
Social Sphere	class structure and social mobility sports and entertainment attitudes towards sexuality social responsibility
Political Systems and Institutions	government and education
Environmental Sphere	geography and boundaries space subsistence
Religion and the Arts	attitudes creative arts, literature, music

---

While this and other systems contributed greatly to a general understanding of the elements that define culture and the corresponding elements that should be taught in the classroom, culture instruction was seen as no better off at the end of the decade than it was at the beginning.

The lack of attention to and focus on the C2 component of L2/C2 teaching, labeled by Lafayette and Strasheim (1981) as “the most distressing aspect of the status quo in foreign language education” (p. 30) would, however, change during the 1980s as

the result of two important conceptual shifts. The notion of communicative competence as put forth by theorists such as Canale and Swain (1980) combined with a new focus on goals and outcomes in U.S. education fed a descriptive analytical scheme for culture based on a link between situational awareness and linguistic discourse competence. This shift in language teaching methodology and that of governmental interest in promoting educational goal outcomes were bound together and made even more symbiotic by the President's Commission interest in producing students who could "do" something with the languages they were studying in both the L2 and C2 sense. Thus, an inherent link between L2/C2 that was lost during World War II was reestablished.

Despite this important move, even by the mid 1980s, culture teaching was still overshadowed in general by the profession's focus on multiple eclectic language teaching methods, the linguistic debate between behaviorists and cognitivists, and a lack of theoretical work being translated into and offered as practical, daily teaching recommendations for L2 teachers (Allen, 1985). In addition to these impediments, the notion that C2 instruction should generally be postponed until some measure of L2 mastery was attained (Stern, 1983) served to delay a badly needed focus on culture teaching.

However, in reestablishing the oral language-culture link and then moving beyond the idea of language as a vehicle to the "Big C" culture offered by literary texts toward the idea of "little c" culture as an informant of appropriate situational L2 usage, the earlier practice of creating more or less neat classification schemes for observable cultural phenomena became inadequate for the needs of the C2 classroom. At this point, the

difficult task of translating those observations and systems into meaningful linguistic goal outcomes and, later, cultural understanding and functioning outcomes for learners became the thrust of activity in the field.

### **A Post-War Chronology of Specific Instructional Goals and Curricular Models for Linking Language and Culture**

As the reader will recall, the post-war anthropological/behavioral view of culture resulted in four C2 classroom outcomes, the first of which was discussed in the previous section. This section outlines outcomes two and four which address specific instructional goals for the teaching of culture, as well as the creation of new curricular models designed to mesh the teaching of language with the teaching of culture (Allen, 1985, p. 143). In a somewhat humorous look at curricular approaches to culture teaching, Galloway (1981) identified four general and problematic curricular models that had been used in the C2 classroom: The Frankenstein Approach (mixing the cultures of all L1 speakers in the C2 realm), the 4-F Approach (folk dances, festivals, fairs and foods), the Tour Guide Approach (based on geography) and the By the By Approach which at best represented a random hodge-podge of cultural information.

But a serious concern for a more standardized approach to the topic is evident in the fact that emerging statements of C2 teaching objectives had already been made as early as the 1970s. The tendency of the previous two decades to attempt definitions of culture had already begun to be questioned at that point, and an understanding of what learners should be able to know and do with the culture was advocated; a question that would ultimately shift the C2 instructional focus to one of objectives and goals (Allen,

1985). At the forefront of this shift were Frances and Howard Nostrand (1970), who outlined nine objectives for C2 teaching (cited in Lafayette & Schulz, 1975, p. 106) as seen in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6

*The Nostrands' Nine Objectives for C2 Teaching*

---

Students should demonstrate the ability to:

- (1) react appropriately in a social situation.
  - (2) describe, or ascribe to the proper part of the population, a pattern in the culture or social behavior.
  - (3) recognize a pattern when it is illustrated.
  - (4) explain a pattern.
  - (5) predict how a pattern is likely to apply in a given situation.
  - (6) describe or manifest an attitude important for making one acceptable in the foreign society.
  - (7) evaluate the form of a statement concerning a cultural pattern.
  - (8) describe or demonstrate defensible methods of analyzing a sociocultural whole.
  - (9) identify basic human purposes that make significant the understanding which is being taught.
- 

While this list is ambitious and still seems difficult to translate into tangible goal outcomes, it represents a beginning in the movement away from classifying mere cultural observations toward determining what the outcomes of culture education should be, an important contribution to the development of the C2 field.

The Nostrands' (1970) goals were subsequently modified by Seelye (1970; see Table 1.7) into what appears to be a more succinct summary of their intent (cited in Lafayette & Schulz, 1975, p. 106). However, it also unfortunately and somewhat

ironically seems to lose the sense of pinpointing student abilities and favors instead grouping and classifying abilities and outcomes into observable characteristics. In light of methodological history, this move seems somewhat counterproductive.

Table 1.7

*Seelye's Modified Culture Teaching Goals*

---

Characteristics of C2 culture learning include:

- (1) the sense, or functionality, of culturally conditioned behavior.
  - (2) the interaction of language and social variables.
  - (3) conventional behavior in common situations.
  - (4) cultural connotations of words and phrases.
  - (5) evaluating statements about a society.
  - (6) researching another culture.
  - (7) attitudes towards other cultures
- 

Although both of these attempts were certainly problematic and vague by today's standards, they did set a precedent for what would become a defining moment in the shift away from passive classification systems into active teaching objectives. Later curricular models would serve to afford culture a more central place in the L2 classroom.

Layfayette's (1978) "Core Plus Open Time" model gives major time for core subject teaching and less time for enrichment activities. While culture had previously been accorded enrichment status in curricular models, this model made provisions for culture to be core instructional material at times, with language serving as enrichment material. This then revolutionary thought prepared the field for Canale and Swain's (1980) later focus on and the popularity of their ideas about the melding of L2 and C2 instruction,

representing an important conceptual shift in the methodology of language teaching in general.

Returning our focus to C2 instructional goals and curricula, at a 1980 conference on national priorities in second language teaching held by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Loew (1981) outlined what can be viewed as a bridge into those specific goals by stating what, in her estimation, students in an L2 course should become aware of in their course of study. These “basic facts” include the idea that the way people behave is determined largely by group values, that students themselves are conditioned to their own environment, that all cultural systems include both socially shared and idiosyncratic beliefs, and, most importantly, that the use of language is an important cultural product.

Loew’s (1981) ideas are well represented in Stern’s (1983) proposed Multi-Dimensional Curriculum. This was the first proposal to move away from a one-dimensional curriculum and suggest four distinct yet interrelated syllabi: linguistic (traditional grammar and vocabulary plus a new inclusion of speech acts, discourse, notions and functions); cultural; communicative; and general education. Each syllabus contained a progression of content for that specific aspect of the total curriculum. Most importantly, this approach was much more systematic, balanced and integrated than any previous attempts had been. The initial work done on developing the linguistic syllabus also involved a fundamental change whereby language proficiency came to be regarded as a series of progressive or cyclical stages based on the 1982 ACTFL guidelines outlining

linguistic tasks/functions, topics/content and degree of accuracy for various stages of language achievement in listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Allen, 1985).

However, work on the culture syllabus was more challenging due to a lack of explicit guidelines for achievement in cultural proficiency that could serve as a basis for curricular design. Allen (1985) notes that the (in her view generic) ACTFL culture guidelines break cultural proficiency into three parts: function, content/context and accuracy. She notes a further emphasis on function which is, in turn, relegated to lower levels of behavior. This seems to place cultural knowledge squarely in the linguistic realm of knowing what to say to whom in what circumstance, manifest in Saville-Troike's (1983) assessment of communicative competence as being equated with the possession of appropriate sociocultural schemata.

It does not however, as Allen (1985) points out, address attitude or cognitive awareness until the "Superior" level is reached linguistically (p. 149). She suggests a more cognitive scheme for the teaching of C2, listing the following three components: information, experience and authenticity. After getting and organizing information about the C2, the learner approaches and comes to know the C2, after which the C2 has an effect on the learner's behavior and attitudes.

This concern with a more cognitive approach to the achievement of learners' cultural proficiency gave rise to two other curricular suggestions by the late 1980s. Addressing the notion of cultural competence that seems to have grown from the movement towards communicative competence overall in the 1980s, Hanvey (1987) outlines a four stage approach to culture that takes the learner from a closed and narrow



attitude, through noting significant differences between C1 and C2, to seeing differences as believable and plausible frameworks for living to cultural assimilation. Krasnick (1988) modeled cultural competence as four-dimensional, referring to cultural sensitivity in the following areas: (1) attitude, (2) knowledge, (3) skill, and (4) traits in both receptive and productive interaction. Attitude refers to the learner's cultural sensitivity, knowledge to his/her cultural awareness, skill to his/her ability and traits to the learner's overall orientation in terms of tolerance and willingness to learn (Lessard-Clouston, 1992). These categories are largely fine-tuning of curricula proposed earlier in the decade.

### ***Innovative Approaches to Rethinking C2 Curricular Models***

Significant and substantial new work on C2 has been and is being produced during the decade preceding and at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Couched within the framework of increased multi-cultural awareness within a pluri-subcultural C1 society and the universities where L2/C2 are taught in part as a general education requirement with a broad aim of enhancing critical thinking and problem solving skills, the focus of culture teaching from the 1990s to present has shifted. Namely, it has moved beyond demonstrating cultural understanding via proper linguistic behavior and into the realm of addressing deep structure social relationships and self/other-reflection. Culture in general is being viewed as connected patterns of thought, actions and expressions that humans use both to produce understanding and to solve problems (Webber, 1990).

Mastery of these patterns and expressions is termed "discourse ability" (Kramsch, 1989, p. 5) and rests on a notion of aptitude for language learning that is grounded in cognitive complexity and interpersonal maturity as opposed to the linguistic competence

that was revolutionary at the beginning of the very same decade, as evidenced by Canale and Swain (1980). In the 1990s, curricula were beginning to be designed which, in addition to recognizing the breadth and depth of cultural competence and what it takes to teach it effectively, also made the explicit link between language, literature and culture. The new “teachers of intercultural communication” would be “inform[ed] . . . with all the theoretical insights gained in sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science and even hermeneutics” (Kramsch, 1989, p. 8).

The multi-layered facets of these various disciplines are represented in Adaskou, Britten, and Fashi’s (1990) four distinctions in cultural meaning: aesthetic sense which includes cinema and literature, etc.; sociological sense dealing with social organization and nature of family, relationships, etc.; semantic sense defined by the learner’s cognitive conceptualization system; and pragmatic sense which rests on background knowledge, paralinguistic skills, etc.

They are also reflected in later observations about efforts to teach multi-culturalism in the German classroom, resulting in the following four classifications by Radtke (1991), whose general thesis is that the inclusion and representation of minority cultures serves merely to highlight their interesting or exotic properties without posing a challenge to the dominant culture. The categories of approach to C2 that Radtke (1991) outlined were: (1) programmatic-pedagogical multi-culturalism designed to promote attitudes of respect and tolerance, (2) culinary-cynical multi-culturalism that appreciates the art, music and cuisine of other cultures, (3) a demographic instrumental form that argues for immigration as the solution to the social and economic collapse made

inevitable by Germany's low birthrate, and (4) the reactive fundamentalist multiculturalism of foreign groups who reclaim an authentic cultural identity within an unwelcoming and repressive society.

Recognizing that culture is an "organized and symbolic signifying system [that is] constituted, emergent and situational" (Peck, 1992, p. 11), new concepts of culture and the instructional goals derived from emerging curricula began to posit C2 as a linguistic artifact to be dug up in the learning process and began to touch upon its sign-mediated, dialogic, representative significance. Another of the first curricular suggestions of the 1990s was the notion of culture as "discovered . . . dialogic practices" (Swaffar, 1992, p. 238). Although authentic realia and input were deemed important in the 1980s as part of the communicative approach, their importance becomes even more evident in this anthropologically oriented curriculum because they represent "artifacts of the second language's culture [which] offer . . . case studies of fundamental human relationships, needs, and social institutions such as kinship, ritual behavior, social status, governance or eating arrangements" (p. 238) from which learners can create cognitive networks of cultural discovery.

Central to the dialogic process, L2/C2 instructors also seem to be given a central and individual role as anthropologists who "transmit culture" (Peck, 1992, p. 11) and as ethnographers who "construct a story about an alien culture [and] make classroom practices explicit, enabling students to recognize them as subjects of critical reflection that are ideologically rooted in particular political agendas" (p. 12). It follows then, that text becomes an important notion as "expressions of a people's culture, that is, its beliefs

and traditions, myths and social conventions” (Kramsch, 1993a, p. 5). On a curricular level, this resulted in a general push toward more interdisciplinarity regarding the teaching and learning of culture and language.

Individual researchers such as Kramsch (1993a) outlined the goals of foreign language education as communicative competence, cultural knowledge and cognitive growth. Oxford (1994) was more specific in her outline of a new philosophy of teaching culture in the language classroom, the components of which consisted of: clear goals for culture teaching, understanding of the meaning of culture, links between culture and language through hands-on instruction, recognition of differences and similarities among cultures, the individual’s own processes in becoming culturally aware, recognition of multiple cultures, revealing the dark and the light side of culture, encouragement of learning style exploration, enhanced use of learning strategies to improve cultural awareness and use of community resources and personal stories to teach culture.

While this is an ambitious program, a focus on Oxford’s (1994) breakdown of clear goals for L2/C2 teaching reveals more specific outcomes that include: moving beyond stereotypes and prejudice, acquiring an understanding of superficial and deep culture, comprehending differences and similarities across cultures, and cross-cultural tolerance. Additional goals are outlined for students who plan to live in the target culture which, in addition to the previous goals, include: quick adjustment, use of culture shock as a growth experience, and empathy with target culture.

Although the contribution of individual researchers to a new culture teaching paradigm for the coming century was certainly beneficial, the most substantial

breakthrough in setting goal outcomes for the long-neglected cultural aspect of the foreign language classroom came in the form of a national set of standards put out by ACTFL in 1996. Their statement of the rationale for C2 study is as follows:

The study of another language enables students to understand a culture *on its own terms*. The exquisite connections between the culture that is lived and the language that is spoken can only be realized by those who possess a knowledge of both. American students need to develop an awareness of other people's world views, of their unique way of life and of the patterns of behavior which order their world, as well as learn about the contributions of other cultures to the world at large and the solutions they offer to the common problems of humankind. Such awareness will combat the ethnocentrism that often dominates the thinking of our young people. (ACTFL, 1996, p. 43)

Culture, then, is defined as an intersection of perspectives, products and practices.

The teaching of difference as had been suggested by Kramsch (1993a) and similarity/difference by Oxford (1994) is advocated, as well as ACTFL's two specific goal outcomes for culture standards. They are: 2.1 *Students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the practices and perspectives of the cultures studied*, and 2.2 *Students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the products and perspectives of the cultures studied*.

At this point, in addition to an emphasis on second language acquisition as a growing field of inquiry, second culture acquisition becomes a field of study in its own right (Robinson, 1991), both relying partially on cognitive studies to substantiate their research claims. In this vein, the teaching of difference as part of the culture curriculum is rapidly questioned based on cognitive studies about objectification and prejudice formation (Markel, 1998; Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996). With an increasing focus on issues of world view and behavior patterns, social network theories and fieldwork

techniques theretofore unique to the behavioral and social sciences emerge as relevant for exploration of distant C2 culture from the C1/L2 classroom.

From this, the notions of ethnographic interviewing and participant observation as techniques to allow the firsthand exploration of and reflection on C2 became popular as suggested classroom practices. Students are now asked to do home-ethnography as a basis of comparison for C1/C2 information (Barro, Byram, Grimm, Morgan, & Roberts, 1993) and to seek out native-speaker informants with the goal of becoming “aware of their roles as cultural beings involved in cross-cultural interaction” (Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996, p. 437). This translates into what Jourdain (1998) terms a “student-centered curricular model” (p. 446) in which students gather C1/C2 information, communicate knowledge to peers in the L2 and think critically about and discuss values represented in the C2, well in line with overall pedagogic trends toward student-centered, independent learning.

### **A Post-War Chronology of Techniques and Strategies for C2 Teaching**

Curricular shifts ultimately result in changes in teaching techniques, strategies and materials. Recall from the beginning of the chapter that the final result of the shift from the notion of an L2 culture as high literature paradigm to a more anthropological/behavioral approach to C2 as lived experience was “the development of techniques, strategies and materials designed to involve learners actively in learning culture and to integrate culture study with language study; classroom techniques and strategies” (Allen, 1985, p. 143). This section will address classroom techniques and strategies for teaching

culture, leaving the matter of materials and their assessment criteria for effectiveness to the last part of this chapter.

A historical overview of applied techniques for C2 teaching reveals that in this realm too, progress is slow and generally inadequate. In 1961, Taylor and Sorenson developed the “culture capsule,” which was a brief lecture of about ten minutes designed to be read by the teacher with supplementary realia designed to support the information. The purpose was to illustrate a small difference between C1 and C2 and to elicit discussion about that difference. The culture instruction of the 1970s was based on the same premise and was designed in part to supplement one of the many methodologies being developed and tested at that time.

Thus were born the ideas of the culture assimilator based on a multiple-choice tests of appropriate cross-cultural interaction (Fiedler, Mitchell, & Triandis, 1971), thematic units for language in culture (Dodge, 1972), audio-motor units based on commands focused on a cultural theme to supplement the Total Physical Response approach (Elkins, Kalivoda, & Morain, 1972), the culture cluster which combined several capsule-like experiences linked by theme and sealed by dramatic simulation (Meade & Morain, 1973), the cultural mini-drama based on confrontation of self through modeled episodes of miscommunication (Gordon, 1974), and the “cultoon” based on cultural misunderstanding as represented in cartoon strips (Morain, 1979).

As communicative competence began to gain importance in the 1980s and more ethnographic, learner-based encounters with C2 became popular in the 1990s, one classroom technique suggested was the Culture Unit (Arries, 1994), consisting of a

culture interest inventory, the interview of a cultural informant, and an audiomotor unit in which the students act out what they have learned. While this in-class technique combined much of the more advanced theory on the teaching of culture, the advent of computer technology and computer-assisted and -mediated C2 instruction made native informants of the C2 more readily accessible. Both linguistic and cultural competence could now be enhanced by the target culture's accessibility to communicate individually with L2 learners. However, culture teaching strategies during the past two decades have generally reflected what in my estimation may be an overreliance on this positive aspect of technology, resulting in many fine activities but fewer suggestions of uniform pedagogical techniques, especially in the traditional classroom setting.

The benefit of C2 instruction via computer is that it provides the learner with a totality of unmediated, authentic products from popular to high culture. "The ability of multimedia to bring together sound, image (both still and moving), and text obviously permits the representation and the elucidation of these for pedagogical purposes more efficiently than any other medium" (Garrett, 1998, p. 12). Gauthier (1998) points out benefits of technology-mediated instruction including permanent contacts and dialog with foreign students via e-mail and the possibility of collaboration with students abroad. Another study showed that group interaction between L1 and L2 speakers made possible by e-mail and Internet was utilized by about half of the students participating in a pre-study abroad unit on style, register and discourse (Lewis & Stickler, 1998).

Classroom C2 instructional techniques made possible by technology are superbly illustrated via Sanders' (1997) culture unit in which U.S. and German students discussed



media coverage of the U.S./Germany, immigration and national self-image among others, thus examining each other as representatives of their respective cultures and “experiencing themselves not only as subjects, but the objects of others’ academic inquiry” (p. 135). Students of both cultures were placed, via technology, in Kramsch’s (1993b) third place for learners - those who are “aware of their own cultural myths and realities that ease or impede their understanding of the foreign imagination” (p. 216).

Ethnographic research on the success of this technology mediated culture forum netted positive results, as students claimed that “the videoconference [was] the most memorable experience of their academic careers” (Sanders, 1997, p. 138), with the researcher herself stating that “this experience of videoconferencing demonstrates that technology can be pedagogically transformative” (p. 139). Success has also been reported with multi-media programs designed to teach sociolinguistic competence in which the computer as tutor constantly gives advice, such as to hedge more and not be so direct, or that a certain form employed by the user is too informal for the situation (Boylan & Micarelli, 1998).

Using the Internet to make connections between cultural perspectives and behavioral patterns involves L2/C2 learners in researching a course topic beforehand, choosing the historical, political and social aspects of a topic to be addressed in class (Gauthier, 1998). Bernhardt and Kamil (1997) utilize technology to transform Beginning German from a mere “skill getting” (p. 47) course by analyzing and discussing additional culture readings in English over a required listserv, giving the course an “adult” (p. 47) element.

## **A Post-War Chronology of Textbook Development and Materials Assessment for C2 German Teaching**

While computer-assisted and -mediated L2 and C2 instruction certainly has changed and enhanced many classroom techniques for the teaching and even simulation of culture, the basis for and bulk of information which the L2/C2 learner receives is in the form of textbook materials. It is in the L2 textbook that the final tangible development in the shift from conceptualizing culture as literature to thinking of culture as an anthropological, behavioral entity expressed through the vehicle of language is seen. Along with the chronological development of these materials, rubrics for their evaluation were also developed against which the quality of the cultural content could be measured.

Interestingly, even though the evaluation rubrics seem to have increased in sophistication as time went on, most cultural materials simultaneously produced in textbooks were seen to be consistently lacking by reviewers at every developmental stage in the chronology of post-war textbook assessment. At every point in time, the real quality of cultural materials has generally lagged behind theory and research. Let us turn our focus now from C2 theories in general to their manifestation specific to L2 German textbooks after World War II.

It is noted throughout this portion of the chronological review that the history of progress in the textbook realm specific to Germans and German culture will prove to remain static throughout the decades despite the revolutions in thinking that were occurring regarding the teaching of culture in general. In her exhaustive analysis of college-level, beginning German textbooks, Beitter (1983) found that German society was

depicted in the 1950s as hardworking, “concentrated on rebuilding and modernizing Germany” (p. 111). Women were shown in “conservative and traditional situations . . . subject to the commands of their husbands” (p. 111). Pictorial representations showed a “sightseer’s paradise . . . [with] men in *Lederhosen* and women in *Dirndl* promenad[ing] in villages with white-washed houses in the Alps. There were ruins everywhere (but no ruins from World War II)” (p. 113). In terms of geography, Germany was reduced to “the beautiful, romantic . . . world famous Rhine” (p. 113) and the national character was one ordered by work at the expense of personal life except for the occasional trip to the beloved German woods.

University life was marked by formality, obedience, and distance, except for the merrymaking of the old-time fraternities (Beitter, 1983, p. 115). Regarding the portrayal of history, “textbooks shirk the issues [surrounding the world wars] and contributed nothing to revise the idea of Germany as a brutal aggressor” (p. 115). The political situation in Germany from the end of World War II through the 1950s “only received peripheral attention in the texts, but great care is lavished on pointing out the essential differences between East and West Germany” (p. 116). Interestingly, despite the general post-war methodological shift away from the culture as literature paradigm, German textbooks “draw heavily on the works of Schiller, Goethe, and Heine” (p. 117). This research provides a post-war baseline against which to assess the progress of C2 in the German textbook into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Returning briefly to C2 assessment rubrics, cultural generalizations were viewed as the primary and accepted vehicle for teaching knowledge of the C2 in the 1960s. This

translated into the production of assessment criteria designed around the assumption that as long as generalizations contained certain appropriate properties, they made for good material for C2 learners. One such proposed rubric for assessing the cultural content of L2 textbook materials contained the following questions designed to help instructors choose materials “by a more exacting standard than is [in 1966] current” (Nostrand, 1966, p. 22). (See Table 1.8.)

Table 1.8

*Nostrand’s Rubric for Assessing L2 Textbook Cultural Content*

- 
- (1) Are the natural opportunities utilized for presenting generalizations about the culture and social structure of the people?
  - (2) Do the generalizations that are made deal with specific topics?
  - (3) Are the generalizations accurate?
  - (4) Are the generalizations well-presented?
  - (5) Are the generalizations supported and made vivid by “experience of” what they seek to describe?
  - (6) Are the generalizations and interacting experience adapted to the grade level of the intended learners?
- 

Though the premises of these criteria being grounded in generalization is likely to be problematic for the L2/C2 teacher teaching within the current context, Nostrand (1966) found that even by these meager standards, most textbooks were even then considered to be lacking. Taken at first glance, this means most obviously that even in their generalizations, textbook C2 materials tended to be non-specific, inaccurate, poorly presented, unsupported, lacking experience, and not adapted to the learners’ levels.

In addition to the theoretical acceptance of generalizations as a culture teaching tool, the kind of poor generalizations outlined by Nostrand (1966) manifest themselves in an increasingly problematic representation of C2 German subjects into the next decade. An analysis of L2 German classroom texts produced in the 1960s (Beitter, 1983) depicts a people caught up in post-war economic success and the reign of “order and prosperity” (p. 111) for an increasingly white-collar, heterogeneous people who were “industrious, diligent, and hard working” (p. 111). The “*Kinder, Küche, Kirche* Syndrome” (p. 112) (children, kitchen, church) was still reported to be alive and well for all German women. The “bucolic Alps, the romantic Rhine, [and] the quaint and restful villages scattered everywhere” (p. 113) were still the rule of the day, the Rhine having been “bypassed by industrial development, leaving its legendary beauty unblemished” (p. 114). The Germans’ “alleged penchant for the military . . . is not properly deflated by the text books surveyed” (p. 114) and textbook portrayals of historical events still “do not supply enough material to give the students the opportunity to evaluate the [Hitler] era objectively and wean them away from their warped, cliché image of Germany” (p. 116).

There is a small amount of progress in the political portrayals of the 1960s, but only to the extent of reassuring the student that “the Germany of the [then] present is different from the Germany of the thirties and forties and that the democratic process, about whose existence the Americans were particularly anxious, has finally been instituted” (Beitter, 1983, p. 117), although “the approach to the DDR is evasive and the existence of another German state is glossed over” (p. 117). The culture as literature paradigm in the 1960s was still strongly promoted by the Classicists, resulting in “not-so-

subtle attempts at indoctrinating the students with the greatness of Germany's past literary achievements . . . contrast[ing] sharply with the bland and cautious manner in which the works of contemporary authors are discussed" (p. 118). In short, "there is little information in either the fifties or the sixties to show the Germans less authoritarian, less rigid and less formal than the students imagine them" (p. 114).

Although the attempt to set up evaluation criteria for cultural materials was certainly a step in a positive direction, it is clear that basing those criteria on generalizations misses one important factor in the production of C2 materials. Generalizations, whether well or poorly portrayed, seem to inherently result in a problematic, imagined view of the culture studied. The evaluation rubrics and textbook materials of the 1970s unfortunately don't seem to fare much better. In their rubric, Pfister and Troyanovich (1971) propose as part of an extensive evaluative tool for all aspects of a textbook that the following question be asked of cultural materials:

Is culture regarded by the textbook writer in its widest sense, including not only past but present achievements in the arts, but also dealing with various aspects of present-day daily living: social classes, meal-time customs and foods, educational and religious institutions, transportation, customs or courtship?

Adequate: Culture is treated in its refinement as well as its way-of-life sense.

Inadequate: Culture is treated only as a refinement or only as its way-of-life. (p. 95)

This seems primarily concerned with the inclusion of both Big C and little c elements. A much more comprehensive list of questions to be asked of the C2 materials in the L2 textbook was proposed by Pfister and Borzilleri (1977, pp. 104-106) as seen in Table 1.9.

Table 1.9

*Pfister and Borzilleri's Evaluative Questions for C2 Culture in L2 Textbooks*

- 
- (1) Is cultural material presented?
  - (2) Is the student introduced to culture as a concept?
  - (3) Is cultural material presented in a sequence proceeding from the familiar to the unfamiliar?
  - (4) Is cultural material presented in a manner to establish cultural contrast or similarity?
  - (5) Is cultural material distributed throughout the text?
  - (6) Is surface culture presented to reflect the essence of everyday life?
  - (7) Are questions for content and cultural understanding presented at the end of the material?
  - (8) Does the cultural reading include footnotes with definitions in English?
  - (9) Is the length of the reading material sufficient to demonstrate cultural understanding of the subject?
  - (10) Is the use of English gradually phased out?
  - (11) Is the cultural material part of the review and test?
- 

Despite the focus on culture as a concept and the appearance of the idea of teaching culture not as generalizations but as analyzable differences and similarities including not only the well-known, visible expressions of culture but the daily minutiae as well, materials throughout the 1970s were still found to be lacking. In their subsequent survey of five beginning German college textbooks based on these criteria, Pfister and Borzilleri (1977) found that only one text adequately included a well-balanced overview of German culture and only one text managed to adequately introduce culture as a concept.

None of the texts surveyed sequenced cultural material from the familiar to the unfamiliar, none adequately established cultural contrast or similarity, and only one

distributed the cultural material throughout the text. On a brighter note, all of the textbooks presented aspects of everyday life. However, only one posed questions about cultural contrasts and none included footnotes with definitions in English to help the learner. Finally, only one text included cultural materials as part of the testing and review process, leading to the conclusion that “the five beginning textbooks failed to present surface culture effectively . . . [with] no real focus on culture in the anthropological sense. Culture was too often presented with a historical, factual, or literary approach rather than as a way of life” (Pfister & Borzilleri, 1977, p. 107).

Furthermore, in her analysis of conversational first-year German texts, Anderson (1974) still found “a conservative and somewhat romantic cultural picture . . . [which had been] carefully laundered” (p. 185) and culture capsules in one text which were “badly marred by archaic and simplistic style, poor glossing and errors in typography, punctuation and grammar” (p. 186). The tendency to stylize Germany through the use of “favored geographical images” (Taylor, 1977, p. 109) was found to correlate with student identification of categories, resulting in an overwhelming identification with Bavaria and Munich and the kinds of folk music, dress and products such as cuckoo clocks which go with it. A tendency to only portray life in what was then West Germany at the expense of the other German speaking countries was also noted. When mentioned at all, German textbooks portrayed Austria as a country of “*Gemütlichkeit*” (Koppensteiner, 1978, p. 21) with its accompanying focus on food, lack of punctuality and sloppiness.

It should come as no surprise, then, that when Beitter (1983) conducted a survey of beginning German students between 1972 and 1975, their images were the same as



those of students who had studied German using textbooks from the previous decade. In this particular study, only one open-ended question was posed: “What image comes to your mind when you think of Germany?” The result was a

Germany [which] emerged as a rather peculiar place. The country has one river, the blue Rhine, surrounded by vineyards and old castles. There are two cities: Munich and Berlin; and many snow-covered mountains with old picturesque farm houses inhabited by ruddy-cheeked people in quaint, colorful regional costumes. The national beverage is beer, which is used to wash down *Sauerkraut*, *Sauerbraten* and *Knackwurst*. The Germans are rugged, love to work, manufacture *Volkswagen* and wear *Lederhosen*. They are without humor, stodgy and conservative. Germans are perfectionists and love discipline, which is especially noticeable in the family, where the husband rules over the wife and children. Most students possess some knowledge of Germany’s history but . . . this is confined to the Kaiser, Bismarck, and the Second World War, with the concentration camps ranking prominently. (p. 109)

This three decade long tendency to continue to portray German culture in erroneous and unbalanced terms seems to have influenced the assessment criteria set up by Schulz (1987, p. 97). Her criteria against which textbooks should be judged are outlined in Table 1.10. When assessing beginning German textbooks against these criteria, Schulz found that “the books examined take predominantly a tourist perspective, focusing on current daily living patterns and stressing the picturesque in landscapes and customs” (p. 98).

She furthermore questions their standard “implication . . . that life in the Federal Republic is illustrative of lifestyles and living conditions in all German-speaking countries [an assumption that] cannot be adequately rectified in the obligatory chapters on Austria, the GDR and Switzerland” (Schulz, 1987, p. 99). It is interesting to note that in

Table 1.10

*Schulz' Criteria for C2 Culture in L2 Textbooks*

- 
- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| (1) | factual accuracy/authenticity                              |
| (2) | up-to-datedness of information                             |
| (3) | balanced presentation                                      |
| (4) | degree of differentiation/concreteness                     |
| (5) | degree of problem orientation                              |
| (6) | relationship of facts to opinions                          |
| (7) | value judgments/attitudes conveyed (explicit and implicit) |
- 

none of the studies mentioned so far is the issue of German speaking minorities in parts of the former Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Lichtenstein, or the Volga ever mentioned, despite the major political boundary and language community shifts that resulted directly from World War II and are relevant to the time period under review.

Another study of cultural materials in textbooks at approximately the same time was conducted by Kramsch (1987). In her estimation,

Of the some dozen college first-year textbooks [then] currently serving the approximately 100,000 students of German in the U.S., eight have a chapter on sports, bearing various titles. In five texts out of eight, this chapter is placed in central position, between the 44 and 55% mark down the line of chapters. We must therefore assume that it is considered by more than half of the text authors to be an important central topic, either because it is important to American culture and reflects American students' interest, or because it is perceived to be an important aspect of the German culture, or because it is considered to be a cultural universal. (p. 99)

It is noted that sports are depicted in these textbooks from various viewpoints that range from competition to health and fitness, and from social and political perspectives to topics of casual conversation.

However, while all texts “claim in some way to foster cultural understanding through an understanding of cultural differences” (Kramsch, 1987, p. 99), “none of the texts constructs German reality and U.S. reality within their respective frames of reference” (p. 105), relying instead on the C1 to mediate the concerns of the C2 for the L2 learner, even on a topic as seemingly simple and universal as sport activities.

In the 1990s, ACTFL’s standardization of C2 goal outcomes at various levels provided textbook writers and other designers of cultural materials with a somewhat built-in set of assessment criteria, although it remains to be seen just exactly how much effect this will have on the production of such materials. As is notable from the previous section, standard-setting has not historically netted much in the form of better materials. Even into the 1990s, complaints about the content of C2 materials still abound. Hook and Kahn (1990) refer to the “artificiality” (p. 157) of such information, though some believe that acknowledging stereotypes is actually a positive assessment of students’ cognitive response to other cultures and thus advocate “critical confrontation” (Webber, 1990, p. 137) with generalities on the part of the learner.

A more recent and growing field of inquiry in C2 materials development and assessment concerns itself with the portrayal of minorities in these texts. A study of six relatively recent L2 German books revealed that

. . . of the 531 pictures overall, a total of ten (10) are identifiably pictures of minorities . . . three of the books had no pictures of minorities, and one of them had four, but all in one picture. One other book had fourteen (14) pictures of named white, apparently heterosexual males and no pictures of any named females or any members of minority groups. (Otto, 1992, p. 154)

Not surprisingly, the most recent survey (Olsen, 2000) of L2 German text adoptions in basic language programs across the United States indicates that there are still problems with inadequate cultural materials.

Almost half the respondents expressed the desire for less trivial information, many with the detectible irritation at the authors and publishers for having reduced the content to the lowest common denominator. Many deplored a narrow range of current and trendy topics seen as dominating textbooks from high school through college, and the inherent lack of progression in sophistication and depth. (p. 142)

This demonstrates once again that despite the growing focus on language pedagogy, the availability of advanced training, and the resulting substantiated research on C2 in the L2 classroom, clear and well-developed culture teaching goal outcomes such as those provided by ACTFL far outpace textbook manifestations that correspond to theory and research. If the post-war trend continues, not only will the goal outcomes outpace the actual delivery of said quality materials, but the materials themselves will continue to recycle problematic portrayals of their subjects.

Perhaps a better understanding of the properties of signification and the processes by which it operates will illuminate why this continues to be the case with the culture materials found in today's L2 German textbook. Recall from the introductory comments that this dissertation considers the culture box to be a marked, semiotic, argumentative/ideological, narrative message engaged in intertextual communication and political representation of the "Other." The following chapter explains, in that order, the assumptions behind each component of this statement and provides a theoretical basis for the examples that will illustrate the historical and significative processes behind the observation of this chapter that the L2 culture box is slow to change.

**CHAPTER 2**

**CONSTRUCTING THE “OTHER”:**

**SEMIOTICS, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, AND CULTURAL STUDIES**

**AS IDEOLOGY ANALYSIS**

This chapter will demonstrate the theoretical process by which the Other is constructed for C2 learners in the L2 textbook culture box. Because the various theories that are being brought to the analysis of the culture box are interrelated and complex, it is not possible to present them in a directly linear fashion. The reader will find it necessary to follow several simultaneous lines of theoretical input before the chapter culminates in an overarching theory that explains the totality of signification and culture relating to German speakers. However, the material does follow a certain conceptual progress from the relatively simple dichotomous state of markedness through a widening theoretical progression consisting of semiosis, argumentative proposition, narration, ideology and mythology and finally, metaphor and public discourse as they specifically apply both historically and culturally to the German speaking realm.

**Markedness Theory as a Theoretical Framework**

**for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

Markedness theory is based on a dichotomous system of relationships surrounding the simple observation that things come in pairs. Marked and unmarked in their most fundamental sense are defined by and only by the existence of each other. An understanding of the pairings of opposites is key to understanding both linguistic and

cultural phenomena. As is evident from the information contained in the literature review, this very same dichotomy of difference has been a basis upon which L2 culture teaching in the United States has found a solid and supported foundation. The data in this dissertation fits squarely within that same theoretical tradition, as it is noted that without exception, the culture sites in this most current data set are all marked off from other materials within their respective textbooks, as will be illustrated more concretely and thoroughly in Chapter 3.

Returning to a theoretical stance, markedness forms a basis for structuralist linguistic theory, whereby “differences are systematized into ‘oppositions’ which are linked in crucial relationships” (Hawkes, 1977, p. 22). This lends markedness theory many tangible linguistic applications ranging from phoneme differentiation, to accounting for “irregular” syntactic structures, to explaining certain lexical choices and attention-getting pragmatic utterances, to pointing out and highlighting difference in cross-cultural practices and encounters. For the purposes of this dissertation, the more general, cultural aspects of markedness theory apply to the data analysis.

However, the important and illuminating common crux of all of the above mentioned applications is that the relationships are all cognitive ones. We as human beings rely on oppositional categories at both the discrete point, the discourse and even the extra-linguistic levels to construct and evaluate meaning. “As Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle point out, binary opposition is a child’s first logical operation, and in that operation we see the primary and distinctive intervention of culture into nature” (Hawkes, 1977, p. 24). Whereas nature is biological, culture operates on a social and collective

plane. The need to differentiate serves a natural, biological function and contributes to our survival as a species.

More importantly to this dissertation, the human cognitive need to differentiate also appears in a cultural context that may be just as important to our survival, at least in a figurative sense. In terms of identity formation, we human beings rely on oppositional categories to construct and evaluate ourselves. This is demonstrated by a seemingly fundamental human need for in-group and out-group affinities. As a cultural phenomenon, “difference [is] the primary motor of semiosis” (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 151), or the process of assigning meaning to that which we encounter in our environment. Waugh (1982) highlights the importance of this fundamental category in her assertion that “any investigation of any semiotic system must take this dialectic [of oppositional pairs] into account if it is to correctly characterized one of the ways in which human beings create symbolic and conceptual frameworks” (p. 315).

As was illustrated in Chapter 1, the teaching of culture as difference is one of the more recent methodologies that has found resonance within the C2 teaching community. It will be noted later in this chapter that markedness is also a key component to critical discourse analysis. On several levels, markedness and the theories it informs are the most fundamental and far-reaching theoretical constructs upon which this analysis of the contents of the culture box is based.

### **Semiotics as a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

It has been stated that “culture can be studied completely under a semiotic profile” (Eco, 1976, p. 28). While this dissertation does not limit itself to semiotics alone, it does

rely heavily on its concepts and theories as a basis of its theoretical grounding. Semiotic research is based on eight assumptions as outlined by Eco (1981) that clearly link linguistic phenomena with cultural representation. Summarized, they are:

- (1) Every aspect of sign phenomena is dialectic.
- (2) Signification encompasses the entire cultural universe.
- (3) Semiotics must operate with an interdisciplinary transference of laws.
- (4) All systems were designed for signification and should be considered codes that allow for the generation of messages.
- (5) Diversity in codes should be described both in modes of production and perception.
- (6) Semiotic theory must be concerned with the syntax of different systems, yet allow for semantic interpretations of their combinatory possibilities.
- (7) Semiotic theory includes the contents of sign vehicles since the universe of sense is culturally organized.
- (8) Semiotics operates in context and therefore must include, in addition to syntax and semantics, pragmatics.

These eight assumptions tie into several premises upon which the application of semiotics to the illumination of the culture box is built and will resurface throughout the theoretical discussion of this chapter.

What this means directly for the purposes of analyzing the culture box is as follows: First, culture is the site of expression and interpretation in the human universe of sense. In parallel terms, the Culture Box is the site of expression and interpretation in the L2 German learner's universe of human sense. The sociocultural importance of this site makes it the most likely and productive place in an L2 textbook for meaningful representation, both positive and negative, as it constitutes a microcosm of speech sign behavior expressing mental states (Markel, 1998; Van Dijk, 1980).

Secondly, all texts found in L2 textbooks carry explicit textual and implicit subtextual meanings that can be analyzed via a hierarchy of signs ranging from distinctive



phonetic features through discourses. Dialectic properties of texts, including the culture box, cause information to be both derived from and to contribute to larger societal stereotypes. Finally, the sum total of a variety of interdisciplinary semiotic tactics on L2 textbook users/learners is greater and more far reaching than the sums of their individual parts.

### ***Key Applications of Semiotic Theory***

The field of semiotics today is broad, growing from both American and European roots in the early twentieth century. For this reason, only selected parts of the research done in this field will be applied to the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Research in the United States was first conducted primarily by Charles Sanders Peirce, who laid down the fundamentals of the discipline. Subsequently, Charles Morris worked in semiotics from a behavioristic perspective and J. R. Searle, influenced by the work of J. L. Austin, worked in semiotics as a foundation for speech acts.

In Europe, Ferdinand de Saussure paved the way for “semiologie,” followed by Luis Prieto, and Roland Barthes, whose more humanities-oriented semiotics laid a framework of understanding for sociocultural and ideological aspects of mythologies. European work also gave rise to the more modern semiotic notion of functionalism. Perhaps the most integrative and far-thinking of the semiologists was Roman Jakobson, whose work on both continents served to integrate the views of both major schools of thought and bring semiotics into its present state of inter- and cross-disciplinary application and importance.

In a comprehensive analysis of the contributions of all but the last of these major semioticians, Sándor Hervey (1982) classifies the application of semiotic theories into three categories. He defines wide scope semiotic theories as those that include communication as a whole and are based on the premise that anything that signifies is semiotic, thus including the work of Peirce and Morris. He further classifies medium scope theories as those covering “cases of deliberate, conventional forms of communication” (p. 3) such as those of Austin, Searle and Prieto and those covering “only systematic forms of communication [in which] everything that forms a system of ‘signification’ is semiotic” (p. 3) as is the case with the work of Barthes. Finally, narrow scope semiological theories are those whose “scope is, in principle at least, restricted to systems of conventions for communication” (p. 3). Hervey (1982) classifies Saussure, functionalism, and axiomatic semiotics as belonging to this category.

In addition to the other disciplines and theoretical constructs brought to this project, the semiotic foundations of the data analysis and the pedagogical applications and conclusions in this dissertation are drawn primarily from the ideas of Saussure, Peirce, and Barthes. In a fitting manner, the semiotic holism of Jakobson serves as the “glue” for the theories bound together in this dissertation and appropriately informs its overall construction. As such, the dissertation must, according to Hervey’s (1982) classification system, take wide, medium and narrow scopes into account and use them to view the contents of the culture box through a range of theoretical prisms. However, the data analysis tends to be grounded in an “empiricist . . . *a posteriori*, environmentally-conditioned” (Danesi, 1994, p. 15) kind of semiosis, or the type of inductive or

“abductive” Peircian approach favored by Morris and Austin, by which instances of communication are observed and generalizations subsequently drawn.

While “a rigorous application of a narrowly defined scope is . . . less likely to distort [what is] describe[d]” (Hervey, 1982, p. 4), it is noted through the progression of data analysis in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 that narrow, medium and wide range semiotic considerations of the data parallel the ever- increasing impact and communicative/ significant potential that the data has on an ever-widening audience, representing a judicious yet maximal use of all potential semiotic lenses at various stages through which to view and illuminate data.

The theoretical components that provide the basis of data analysis in this dissertation tend to favor structuralist approaches over functionalist ones, whereas the overall thrust of the project takes on a decidedly pragmatist flavor because

. . . pragmatism defines semiosis in general terms as a constitutive element of all human perception and cognition. Consciousness is always already mediated by signs, which thus lend form not just to cultural artefacts, but to each and every thought that enters into social life, material production, and cultural practice. Semiosis, moreover, is defined [by pragmatism] not as a system, but as a continuous process of signification that orients human cognition and action. (Jensen, 1995, p. 11)

The progression from sign mediated cultural artefacts (L2 textbook culture box relics) through everyday thought and material production and finally, to human cognition and action will become apparent as the chapters progress.

### *The Sign and Its Systems*

The study of semiotics is based on signs, symbols and codes. The sign is taken to function as the smallest element of meaning in interaction, with something present

standing for something not present and conveying meaning by doing so. Eco (1981) speaks of the sign as anything which can be taken significantly as substituting for something else. This is a daily, hourly, minute-by-minute and even second-by-second event for participants of cultures, for “the whole of human experience, without exception, is an interpretive structure mediated and sustained by signs” (Deely, 1990, p. 5).

In general terms, most semioticians consider the sign to be conventional, physical, and relationally defined. This relationship involves a signifier, which is thought of in semiotics as the actual physical entity being represented, and a signified, which is the concept or mental representation of the entity. While for the most part the sign is a theoretical abstraction, it is thought of by some theorists as an entity or even the glue (Fiske & Hartley, 1978) of signifier and signified that forms representation and thus, by extension, informs identity and culture politics.

Working in Europe, Ferdinand de Saussure’s early semiotic theories considered the nature of the sign to be dichotomous and language as the faculty by which we as human beings have access to experience. His dichotomous sign relationship is a simple one between the signifier and the signified and in this view, the language that constitutes signs is comprised of what he termed “langue” and “parole,” the former representing ideational, systematic representations of language and the latter representing individual, actual manifestations of language as it is used. Saussure considered langue to be relational, existing on a vertical “associative” axis consisting of a mnemonic series of classification paradigms upon which signs exist relative to other signs and are related to each other in absentia.

On the other hand, he considered parole to be combinational, existing on a horizontal, chronological syntagmatic axis upon which signs combine with one another, thus gaining a type of contextual meaning as these chronological strings of signs evolve into discourses. Although Saussure theorized that change arises in parole and eventually finds its way into langue, linking the two concepts at some level, he considered them to be and researched them as fundamentally independent entities. The intersection of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic and its illumination of the L2 culture box will be explored later in this chapter. Saussure's early thoughts on the dichotomous sign provide part of the foundation for the analysis of data in this dissertation. However, they do not provide a complete view of semiotics as they are related to the data in this analysis. Perhaps a more important contribution to sign theory in terms of its immediate application to the data in the L2 culture box is that of Charles Sanders Peirce.

Working in the United States, Peirce viewed human beings as being caught in a semiotic web, claiming that the universe is surrounded by signs and that as we interpret the world around us, it becomes sign mediated and therefore, semiotic. Peirce's concept of the sign was more dynamic in that it was not a "thing" per se as it was in the Saussurean sense, rather, it is a series of processes in which representation, signification and interpretation are all part of the same "sign" process. He considered usage as the process by which signs exist and are dynamically part of the universe we create for ourselves. With a much more complex view of the sign, Peirce proposed a triadic relationship between sign, signified and interpreting sign as opposed to Saussure's diadic signifier/signified relationship. Within this new proposal, Peirce also identified three sign

types: icon, index and symbol, and argued that the essence of the sign was in its interpretation via other signs.

While these concepts are important and fundamental to semiotics and thus to the theoretical framework of this dissertation, it was Peirce's intense work on the subdivisions of the sign in relation to his proposed states of firstness, secondness and thirdness (not to be confused with Barthes' second and third order sign systems, which also play an important role in the theoretical make-up of this project) that play a major role in understanding the complexities of dichotomy and representation. It is this work that also provides the fine-toothed analytical tool necessary to tease out the often subtle and overlooked forces at work in the discourses of representation in the culture box.

Peirce divides the sign process into "moments" of firstness, secondness and thirdness by which things are first represented, then signified, and finally, interpreted. For Peirce, the moment of firstness represents the quality of something without context, or the mere state of its being. He identifies the moment of secondness being at the level at which objects have context but in a state that has not yet been interpreted, or contextualized by human understanding. This is described as the state of factuality and actuality. Finally, Peirce posits the world in which humans exist consciously as constituting the moment of thirdness. This is the world that humans construct for themselves by making sense of and organizing patterns, making generalizations, constructing norms, relating things to each other, and developing laws. Peirce considers the sign to be the center of thirdness.

Within Peirce's sign phenomenology, the moments of pure firstness and secondness are not accessible to us as humans within our realm of conscious experience. Because our sign mediated thirdness also has its own inherent developmental process, Peirce conceptualizes the moment of thirdness as being further subdivided into firstness, secondness and thirdness. These correspond to sign representation (first), object (second) and interpretant (third) - the basic Peircian sign trichotomy. In turn, Peirce theorizes that each point of this trichotomy gives rise in turn to its own trichotomy. From the point of view of the sign as a representation (first), the trichotomy is comprised of qualisign (first of first), sinsign (second of first) and legisign (third of first). From the point of view of the sign-object relationship (second), the trichotomy is comprised of icon (first of second), index (second of second) and symbol (third of second). Finally, the point of view of the sign-object interpretant (third) is comprised of rheme/name (first of third), dicent/proposition (second of third), and argument (third of third) (Hervey, 1982).

By combining and cross-classifying the trichotomies of sign (qualisign/sinsign/legisign), object (icon/ index/symbol) and interpretant (rheme/dicent/argument) and then eliminating mutually exclusive and overlapping classes, Peirce identifies ten classes of sign: qualisign, iconic sinsign, rhematic indexical sinsign, dicent sinsign, iconic legisign, rhematic indexical legisign, dicent indexical legisign, rhematic symbol, dicent symbol, and argument (Hervey, 1982, pp. 33-34). A slightly adapted representation of this relationship is illustrated in Figure 2.1. The information in italics and bold, including the borders and numbers, has been added to Hervey's original work in order to help further clarify the relationships between Peircian states and trichotomies.

<i>Sign (Firstness)</i>		<i>Object (Secondness)</i>		
		Icon①	Index②	Symbol③
<b>Qualisign ①</b>		Qualisign		
<b>Sinsign ②</b> <i>(represents existence)</i>	Rheme①	Iconic Sinsign	Rhematic Indexical Sinsign	
	Dicent②		Dicent Sinsign	
<b>Legisign ③</b> <i>(represents generality to "truth")</i>	Rheme①	Iconic Legisign	Rhematic Indexical Legisign	Rhematic Symbol
	Dicent②		Dicent Indexical Legisign	Dicent Symbol
	Argument③			Argument
	<b>Interpretant (Thirdness)</b>			

Figure 2.1. An adapted Peircian sign phenomenology.

While the Peircian classification of sign rests on three trichotomies existing from the point of view of the sign (qualisign, sinsign, legisign), the point of view of the object (icon, index, symbol), and from the point of view of the interpretant (rheme, proposition, argument), Hervey (1982) points out that

... the actual effective operation of the occurrence of signs (as opposed to their abstract classification) places legisign, sinsign and qualisign in a hierarchy, rather than a mere trichotomy. A legisign can occur concretely only when embodied in (realised by) a one-time event which is actually a sinsign; a sinsign, in turn, can



only be recognised on the occasion of its occurrence by its perceived appearance which is actually a qualisign. (p. 30)

By way of explanation and definition, Hervey (1982) outlines concrete examples of each of the ten manifestations of Peirce's sign phenomenology, equating the qualisign with the perception of a particular color, the iconic sinsign with an individual copy of a map, the rhematic indexical sinsign as an involuntary cry of pain, the dicent sinsign as a windsock indicating the direction of the wind, the iconic legisign as a "falling rocks" traffic sign or onomatopoeic words, the rhematic indexical legisign as lightening being interpreted as giving notice of impending thunder, the direct indexical legisign as symptoms of an illness or the engine light in a vehicle, the rhematic symbol as common nouns or names, the dicent symbol as propositions in algebraic systems or declarative sentences in languages, and finally, argument as logical or linguistic syllogisms (pp. 33-34).

While these examples seem to do little to illuminate the Peircian sign phenomenology, and while in turn, the Peircian sign theory in isolation seems to do little to illuminate the contents of the L2 culture box, they both provide a basis upon which signification can be understood as it operates strongly and decidedly, yet subtly behind the scenes of our day to day discourses about encountered information. The critical theoretical concept upon which the next part of the discussion is based centers on what happens when the properties of the examples outlined in the chart are read and conceptualized diagonally top to bottom and left to right. In this paradigm, the qualisign remains mere existence at the level of firstness (a color). The iconic sinsign, having

entered the state of secondness, is a specific record of that which exists (a map), whereas the rhematic indexical sinsign and the dicent sinsign, also in secondness but having moved from the sphere of icon to index, are indicators clearly connected to other isolated phenomena (cry of pain and direction of windsock).

Moving down the chart into the state of thirdness and horizontally back to firstness, the iconic legisign is similar to the iconic sinsign as it records that which exists (the map), but having taken on properties of a more generalized and interpreted state (this is a marked area where rocks repeatedly fall). Moving horizontally into secondness, the rhematic indexical legisign and the dicent indexical legisign are also indicators clearly connected to other phenomena, but in a more generalized, interpreted, and commonly accepted state (repeated instances of lightening preceding thunder or commonly accepted and recognized clusters of symptoms for certain illnesses).

The last three examples fall under symbol and legisign, both in states of thirdness. Thus, rhematic symbols are labels or names (Falling Rock Road), dicent symbols are declarative propositions (A rash indicates an allergy), and an argument is logical syllogism (If lightening strikes then thunder will eventually follow). While the qualities of sinsign and legisign may seem almost indistinguishable on some levels, Peirce's differentiation between token and type can be helpful here. Simply put, he aligns token (one specific representation or instance) with sinsign and type (a general representation or category) with legisign. Thus, sinsigns are individual manifestations of legisigns.

Even more simply and in line with one of the theoretical propositions of this dissertation, distilling the complexities of the Peircian state and trichotomy sign

phenomenology into a chart such as this demonstrates a subconscious signification process that takes place daily in our lives: namely one in which we encounter information in an unconscious state of firstness; become aware of it in a state of secondness, and finally, label it, categorize it, metacategorize it, label the resulting relationships and propose these relationships as the reality upon which we base our assumptions, thoughts and actions in three states of thirdness. This is much more effectively demonstrated within the context of critical discourse analysis, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

The crux of this particular discussion and the foundation it provides for the data analysis in this dissertation is that Peirce's sign phenomenology demonstrates the progress by which sign mediation begins in the subconscious, moves to the conscious, and then becomes operant. Let us turn now to the manner in which the application of this theory takes us from the realm of the individual sign, through the realm of signification or the shared sign, to the concept of the code as a cultured series of signs.

### **Shared Signs - Signification and Mythological Systems**

#### **as a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

The realm of signification or shared sign is best illuminated in a discussion of second order systems of myth. Barthes (1964) conceptualizes semiosis as a mode of signification or communication inherent in the mythologies that constitute our realities. For Barthes, this process consists of first, second, and third order sign systems. While these sign system orders are not to be confused with Peirce's states of firstness, secondness and thirdness, they do operate on the similar theoretical assumption that nothing exists purely in a natural, unsignified state and that the signification process is

triadic in nature. Barthes (1964) posits first order sign systems as denotation, comprised of the natural state of being or reality, or the pure sign.

In a process similar to Peirce's progression, a Barthesian first order sign system inherently has meaning and value attached to it as soon as it is denoted, thus taking on representational and cultural properties. Values, emotions and attitudes of the self create the second state of connotation. Myth, also a second order sign system, is created when the value, emotion and attitude codes become shared, a process that is inevitable and almost instantaneous. In this second order, the sign becomes a signifier of cultural values. Barthes' (1964) theoretical stance posits that the third state occurs when there is a loss of a specific signified, creating a displacement of the signified to the signifier, resulting in metaphor and metonymy.

The Barthesian concept of myth lays an important foundation for the data analysis in this dissertation. In his popular book *Mythologies*, Barthes (1957) describes myth as a "type of speech" (p. 109) "defined by its intention . . . much more than by its literal sense . . . and that in spite of this, its intention is somehow frozen, purified, eternalized, *made absent* by this literal sense" (p. 124). The concept of myth as a part of both semiology and ideology that "studies ideas in form" (p. 112) is defined as a second order semiological system because it is "constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it" (p. 114) in the following manner as illustrated (p. 115) in Figure 2.2.

Language	I. Signifier	2. Signified	
MYTH	3. Sign I SIGNIFIER		II SIGNIFIED
	III. SIGN		

Figure 2.2. Barthes' myth as part of semiology.

This illustration demonstrates that there are two components, or semiological systems involved in the triadic semiosis of myth: a linguistic one that Barthes refers to as the “*language-object* . . . which myth gets hold of in order to build its own system; and myth itself [referred to as] *metalanguage*, because it is a second language, *in which* one speaks about the first” (1957, p. 115). According to Barthes, the signifier in myth serves both as the final term of the linguistic system and simultaneously as the first term of the mythological system. Three examples of how myth intersects with signification will be thoroughly illustrated in Chapter 4. The application of the third state of sign serving as the first stage signifier of myth to the L2 German textbook will be demonstrated more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

Barthes (1957) borrows from Saussurean notions of the sign as the word or concrete unit representing the relationship of the signifier and the signified, but in this particular trichotomy, the third term (signification) is posited as the myth itself; the association of the first and second terms of mythical concept and mythical form. He explains this relationship as follows:

. . . in myth, the first two terms [signifier and signified] are perfectly manifest (unlike what happens in other semiological systems): one of them is not 'hidden' behind the other, they are both given *here* (and not one here and the other there). However paradoxical it may seem, *myth hides nothing*: its function is to distort, not to make disappear (p. 121).

Myth is further defined as a "double system [in which] the signification of the myth is constituted by a sort of constantly moving turnstile which presents alternately the meaning of the signifier and its form, a language-object and a metalanguage, a purely signifying and a purely imagining consciousness" (p. 123); a system in which "speech [is] *stolen and restored* . . . [but] not put exactly in its place" (p. 125).

Another difference that Barthes (1957) emphasizes regarding myth is motivation. Whereas Saussurean linguistics posits the sign as arbitrary, Barthes claims that "myth plays on the analogy between meaning and form, there is no myth without motivated form" (p. 126). In placing both meaning and form on the mythical signifier, Barthes demonstrates that semiology gives way to ideology. "Myth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal" (p. 42). "What the world supplies to myth is an historical reality, defined . . . by the way in which men have produced or used it; and what myth gives in return is a *natural* image of this reality" (p. 142).

### ***The German Myth of the "Other" and Orientalist Theory***

Perhaps the most pervasive myth and its process of semiosis applicable to this dissertation is found within the kind of German colonial fantasy that is outlined by Friedrichsmeyer et al. (1998) in their book *The imperialist imagination: German colonialism and its legacy*, as well as that of Zantop (1997b) herself in *Colonial*

*fantasies: Conquest, family and nation in precolonial Germany; 1770-1870.* Both of these works outline and describe a pronounced myth of the “Other” as definer of things German couched within the framework of theories on Orientalism, an academic discourse grounded in a “style of thought based on ontological and epistemological distinction made between the ‘Orient’ and (most of the time) the ‘Occident’” (Said, 1995, p. 88).

An understanding of the origins of this particular colonial myth as it relates to the fragile German national identity is paramount to understanding who the “Other” in the German culture box is and why they are there. Via semiosis, myth is transported from the unconscious realm of sign, taking on motivated properties of ideology as it becomes conscious, and finally becoming operational in active conceptualizations of the “Other.” An understanding of colonial myth demonstrates why illuminating this process is so vital to understanding the German-speaking realm in particular. The German preoccupation with the “Other,” and thus the resulting, operationalized textbook depictions of who constitutes the “Other,” is couched within a deep and complex history. While the analysis chapters of this dissertation are primarily concerned with the representation of those portrayed as bearers of C2, it is important to lay a historical framework for the myth that places the individuals who reside in the culture box there in the first place.

This phenomenon has first and foremost to do with historical notions of Germanness as they are tied up with the need to form an identity around the beloved “Kulturstaat,” a need arising from Germany’s relatively late formation as a nation state and subsequent delayed and short-lived role as a European colonizer. Harbingers of big “C” concerns such as authors, composers, painters, and other artists fulfilled the need for

a then (and still somewhat) lacking sense of Germanness, for “the concept of Germany in the 18<sup>th</sup> century [was] not to be understood as the name of a political or social reality, but rather as a discursively produced representation of writers” (Hermand & Steakly, 1996, p. 6).

Many complex social and political forces specific alone to Germany have shaped the Germans’ sense of “Germanness” throughout its belated and weak emergence as a nation-state in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, through its dissolution at the end of World War II, and to its reintegration at the end of the Cold War. The collective German sense of self, when compared to that of other European nations/colonial powers such as France, England, Spain, and Portugal remained relatively fragmented during what is termed Germany’s “pre-colonial” period from 1770-1870, after which Germany was involved in only very limited colonial activity from 1884 to 1919 (Friedrichsmeyer et al., 1998). During this time, Germany was still characterized by a loose confederation of principalities and duchies lacking the kinds of strong, centralized governments found in neighboring countries.

The fear of being overtaken both culturally and politically at that time by neighboring powers, most significantly France, was a tangible factor in the increasing sociocultural production and reproduction of a heightened belief in the natural superiority of the German race (Zantop, 1997b). Part of this heightened insistence on superiority as part of an overall national identity is attributable to the German realization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century of its lack of colonial prowess relative to the acquisitions of other nations, as well as to a preoccupation and fascination with and overreliance on categorization and labeling



during the Enlightenment, a time in which the concept of difference became a major philosophical theme for thinkers such as Kant and Herder and for explorers and expeditionists such as Alexander von Humboldt.

Thus was set the stage for a public discourse of the “Other” that rested on classification and comparison and was invested in (over)compensating for the self-perceived lack of German “masculine” colonizing ventures in relation to the feminized Orient. Unlike British or French theories on imperial identity at that time, “German theories point to a crisis in male *national* identity, or more specifically, a crisis in the self-perception of a demoralized, politically impotent bourgeoisie in search of affirmative models of collective identity” (Zantop, 1997b, p. 43). Their search was to bear fruit, as there was by no means a lack of political, pedagogical, social or philosophical support of this collective need by the giants of the emerging nation-state.

In their attempt to define the German nation historically, culturally and politically and to determine collective identity in opposition to others, German intellectuals such as Herder, Kant, or Fichte impose hegemonic, exclusive concepts of ‘national character’ (Nationalcharakter), ‘national spirit’ (Nationalgeist), or ‘nationalist feeling’ (Nationalgefühl) on a heterogenous, multicultural, and multilingual populace living within the borders of the long disintegrated Holy Roman Empire. (Zantop, 1997b, p. 94)

European concepts of national identity tended to be strengthened by the act of colonization. Because of Germany’s relative lack of actual conquest, there arose in the German bourgeoisie of the 18<sup>th</sup> century what has been termed the need for colonial fantasy. “Germany’s inability to form a nation until 1871 and its ‘belated’ colonialism created complex, interrelated states of fantasy” (Friedrichsmeyer et al., 1998, p. 19) whereby that which had not been real in terms of an “Other” against which to measure the

self caused the “Germans [to] imagine their Others both inside and outside Germany, [thus] . . . creat[ing] themselves” (p. 7) and expressing the fantasies in a colonial literature. When compared to the colonial literature of other nations, the German corpus proves to be “differently motivated [and have] a different function: to serve not so much as ideological smoke screen or cover-up for colonial atrocities or transgressive desires, but as ‘*Handlungersatz*’ - as a substitute for the real thing” (p. 6).

This German notion of self as colonizer and explorer of the foreign at that point in time could “only emerge . . . through the work of many minds and writing quills set to the task of distributing in print a common, literary language of images and concepts” (Hermand & Steakly, 1996, p. 9). Thus the German nation and the identity of those living within its boundaries was created in the imaginary literary realm that springs from culture because it did not exist politically or even linguistically in any real sense. Because of this precarious existence, the theoretical oppositional stance of the Orient provided Germany with exactly what it needed to fulfill its colonial fantasy and thus give the Germans a sense of national identity - a “cultural contestant and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other” (Said, 1995, p. 87).

This oddly motivated sense of identity later evolved into a common belief in the extended myth of superiority of nation, race and culture that eventually provided fertile ground and political justification for the systematic degradation of both the domestic (Jews and Romas) and foreign (African) Other (Hake, 1998). The national imagination of a superior, race-based German community provided Germany with a sense of legitimacy not supported by its actual history, and the signifying process of myth via the medium of

literature provided Germany with a semiotic code and a mediated cultural realm for its highly effective spread. “Semiotic understanding . . . requires historical understanding, and one of the major tasks of semiotics is to reveal the histories behind our perceptions” (Stevens, 1988, p. 45). National imaginings are closely tied to chronology and history, as Anderson (1991) points out in his book *Imagined Communities*, a point that will be illustrated via analysis more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

### **Reproducing of Myth - Sign Theory to Code Theory as a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

The manner in which myth is solidified into extended discourses is illuminated at the code theory level. No sign exists in isolation. Most semioticians subscribe to this notion as is clearly stated in one of the most important of semiotic premises: the sign is relational. Peircian and Jakobsonian theories in particular rest to a large extent on the premise that the sign needs contextualization at some level in order to be capable of signification. A combination of signs constitutes what is referred to as a code and a combination of codes and their relationships constitutes culture, with culture being equated to a “macrocode . . . consisting of the numerous codes which a group of individuals habitually use to interpret reality” (Danesi, 1994, p. 18). Message is part of the decoding process and is based on syntagm and synchrony. It is a static state of combined units actually present in a sequence, thus gaining meaning in *praesentia*. Message is where concrete meaning unfolds as the result of combinations of codes based on paradigm and diachrony. Paradigms represent abstract potentialities in which

groupings exist in absentia and represent possible source sets from which units are chosen. These units or meaning categories form codes that contain numerous paradigms.

The process by which meaning categories come into existence is outlined by Leeds-Hurwitz (1993). Her work *Semiotics and communication: Signs, codes, cultures* posits that units are arranged into paradigms and then combined syntagmatically into a text. New sets resulting from the combination of various paradigms are then formed, becoming meaningful via user agreement and transmittable by various media of communication. These meaning categories serve to classify and organize experience and are subject to change. Meaning is a product of coding - coding is a form of behavior that is learned and shared by members of a communication group, thus coding is a learned and shared behavior. As a learned and shared behavior, coding can no longer operate on the main premise of early Saussurian sign theory; namely that the sign is arbitrary. As soon as shared signification occurs, meaning is made. The intersection of pure signification and shared coding constitutes a kind of shared mythology constituted by what Roland Barthes refers to as motivation.

The production and use of myth and the “reality” as such that it constitutes via narrative and discourse can be illustrated at the code level to follow the same path from firstness through thirdness as Peirce demonstrated at the sign level. The added layer of motivation or myth does not change the underlying process; it merely illustrates how the motivated, cognitive perception of the sign progresses from a state of firstness, that being a decontextualized, subconscious existence; through a state of secondness; and into three states of thirdness that entail labeling, categorization, metacategorization, relational

labeling and propositions about these relationships. Transferred from the sign level to the code level, I employ the Peircian sign phenomenology and the progression it represents to illuminate the derivation of “truth” substantiations (Van Dijk, 1980) by which we as human beings within a given culture live and from which we operate in a larger, shared discursive sense as illustrated in Figure 2.3.

<i>Sign (Firstness)</i>		<i>Object (Secondness)</i>		
		Icon①	Index②	Symbol③
<b>Qualisign①</b>	properties of the pure sign			
<b>Sinsign②</b>	Rheme/Name ①	individual label	named object/label existence	
	Dicent/ Proposition②		propositional relational existence	
<b>Legisign③</b>	Rheme/Name ①	collective label	named relational generality	named “truth- generalization”
	Dicent/ Proposition②		propositional relational generality	propositional “truth - generalization”
	Assertion③			“truth” /reality
	<i>Interpretant (Thirdness)</i>			

Figure 2.3. Peircian sign phenomenology as argument formation.

As with the Peircian sign phenomenology, this chart is meant to be read from left to right and from top to bottom via the three trichotomies embodying the various perspectives of sign (qualisign, sinsign, legisign), object (icon, index, symbol) and interpretant (rheme, proposition, argument). However, whereas the focus of the examples given regarding the Peircian sign phenomenology rested primarily on the perspectives of the sign and the object, the examples relating to argumentation and discourse analysis focus on the perspective of the interpretant. That focus on the state of thirdness introduces two new differentiations at the sinsign and legisign (token and type) levels: rheme (name) and dicent (proposition). The link between the original Peircian sign phenomenology and the modified discourse phenomenology is described in the following paragraphs.

By way of example and returning once again to firstness, the qualisign contains the attributes of the pure sign before it interacts with other factors. Within secondness, the iconic sinsign, equated earlier with a map as a record of that which exists, becomes an individual label (rheme). What in the original Peircian phenomenology were the rhematic indexical sinsign (cry of pain) and the dicent sinsign (direction of windsock), both token instances indexed to other events, now parallel named existence and propositional relational existence in this phenomenology. It is at the point of named existence that label and object coincide, and it is at the level of propositional relational existence that proposition and object intersect.

Moving into the state of thirdness at the icon level, what was the iconic legisign or the sign indicating an area of falling rocks, becomes a collective label on the type side of the type/token dichotomy. In a similar fashion at the index level, what were in the

Peircian phenomenology the rhematic indexical legisign and the dicent indexical legisign, (represented by lightening preceding thunder and symptoms showing illness) parallel the named relational generality and the propositional relational generality in the phenomenology of discourse and argument.

As in the original Peircian sign phenomenology, the last three examples fall under symbol and legisign, both in states of thirdness from the perspective of thirdness. There is not as much overt difference between Peirce's original labels and these that comprise the phenomenology of argument formation. Thus, rhematic symbols that served as labels or names (Falling Rock Road) are transformed into named or labeled "truth" generalizations. In a similar fashion, what were previously dicent symbols or declarative propositions (A rash indicates an allergy) now align themselves with propositional "truth" generalizations. Finally, argument as logical syllogism (If lightening strikes then thunder will eventually follow) become truth substantiations, assertions and eventually, public discourses that form the basis for our realities.

More simply put and applicable to this dissertation, this Peircian-derived distillation of argument and public discourse formation is meant to illuminate the process by which we encounter the Other, label it, categorize it, lump its members into metacategories, label the resulting relationships between people, characteristics and actions and finally, propose these relationships in narratives as the reality upon which we base our assumptions and thoughts about and our actions toward it. This process will be demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4. At this point, let us return to the theoretical implications of this process, for it is at the intersection of conclusions drawn from

engaging in this process as they are influenced by mythology that discourse and ideology arise and it is from discourse and ideology that public reality is derived.

### *Discourse and Ideology*

Recall that in addition to being marked and semiotic, the L2 Culture Box is viewed also as being argumentative/ideological in nature. While Peirce's sign theory illustrates the evolution of semiosis, code theory and its resulting discourses viewed on a parallel plane illustrates the evolution of argumentation and ideology as it shapes discourse and fuels the creation of ideology. Perhaps the most important and prolific theorist on discourse and ideology as it relates to culture and more specifically to public myths about the "Other" is Teun van Dijk. His research on the processes whereby human beings create proposed relationships between the Self and the Other that maintain the position of the Self while relegating the Other to a place that is not threatening via elimination or assimilation tie sign theory, code theory, public discourse, and mythology together under a cultural identity driven, political umbrella under which critical discourse analysis as a theoretical approach exists.

As Van Dijk demonstrated in multiple studies, the acceptance of multiculturalism in European and North American societies is to a large degree impeded by elitist ideologies of discrimination towards racial and ethnic minorities (1993a, 1996a) which directly and negatively affect the thoughts of the majority about/towards the minority (1984, 1994). He demonstrates that such thoughts are both created in and reproduced by public discourses such as storytelling (1997) and everyday conversation (1984, 1987a),



through institutions such as governments and education systems (1993a), and their tangible products including the media (1989, 1996b) and textbooks (1987b).

Discourse analysis in all of these private and public realms illustrates the social application of a linguistic process paralleling the somewhat abstract and inaccessible progression of Peircian sign phenomenology at the code level. Critical discourse analysis takes this a step further by creating an important bridge between linguistic and cultural studies theory via the politics of representation, as will be discussed in depth later. Let us begin first with the linguistic extension of the Peircian sign phenomenology at the code level as illustrated by discourse analysis. The code level process illuminates the progression of the sign from inaccessible to encountered, labeled, categorized, metacategorized, and proposed realities about our sign mediated universe.

As discussed briefly earlier in the chapter, the parallels of Van Dijk's macrostructures to Peircian sign phenomenology is striking. In one of his early works entitled *Macrostructures*, Van Dijk (1980) describes macrostructures as cognitively based global structures that develop under social constraints and are used to organize and reduce complex microinformation. Microinformation that feeds into a macrostructure is based around a series of "facts" representing denotational reference, and propositions representing interpretive information. In this scheme, a proposition (interpretation) is considered to be true at the microlevel if it satisfies truth conditions of what those who interact with it consider to be factual based on individual or collective experience.

Moving from the utterance/sentence level to the discourse level, a sequence of propositions, including those that form a narrative, forms what is referred to as a text

base. If the sum total of the propositional sequences is imaginable via met truth conditions, the text takes on meaning for those who interact with it. Van Dijk (1980) claims that textual meaning cannot be adequately described at the local level of sentence and sentence connection, stating that it is derived at more global levels and feeds into joint sequences of propositions referred to as macropropositions. These ultimately lead to generalization.

As such generalizations enter the sphere of public discourse, a site that “plays a prominent role as the preferential site for the explicit, verbal formulation and the persuasive communication of ideological propositions” (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 17), a cognitive set is formed comprised of a mutually agreed upon, text/sign mediated system of knowledge, values, beliefs, attitudes, tasks, interests, values and norms. This is clearly reflective of the Peircian process from firstness through thirdness by which signs progress toward meaning. A concrete example of this process operant in public daily life has to do with the “knowledge” or belief set that has been created via this process in regards to illegal immigration in border areas such the community in which this dissertation was written.

Recent news reports in local Tucson, Arizona media centered around the budget cuts that forced imminent closure of at least one and probably both of the level one trauma centers in Tucson. It was notable that in almost every instance, a story about the costs of rescuing and treating uninsured, illegal immigrants was broadcast or printed in close proximity to the news surrounding the loss of level one trauma care in southern Arizona. Simple denotational reference to illegal border crossings and denotational

reference to budget cuts for trauma care within close proximity theoretically lead to propositions about the relationship of one issue to the other, representing interpretive information.

Truth conditions of the actual real costs of caring for uninsured immigrants are easily considered to be factual in a community where this is the case, even if it only represents a fraction of the losses incurred on a yearly basis by hospitals treating uninsured of all citizenry in Tucson, a fact conveniently not mentioned. Because it ties into a collective experience of rising health costs and declines in quality of care, the plausibility of tying these two references together can easily go unexamined. Night after night, the two stories were broadcast on the news, creating what Van Dijk's work would term a sequence of propositions about what was beginning to seem like a direct cause effect relationship between increasing immigration and declining health care. From here, an imaginable public narrative of illegal immigration causing residents of Tucson to go without health care can easily be formed, taking on meaning and eventual truth substantiation for those who interact with it.

### ***Discourse, Ideology, and Other Disciplines***

The Peircian process is also found to be applicable to cognitive psychological, sociological and anthropological processes that interact with semiotics. In his work *Semiotic psychology*, Markel (1998) focuses on the study of speech sign behavior as an expression of mental state under the assumption that sign behavior is learned, guiding the reader through a process that roughly parallels firstness through thirdness as the subject encountering the Other for the first time progresses from a physical/mental state of

immanent reference and attitude towards the interlocutors, through a state of psychic determinism in which every behavioral response is related, to a mediating process that determines a person's mental set towards another and constitutes the major factor in determining how they perceive that person's behavior.

Illustrative examples of culturally mediated processes and their influence on how the "Other" is perceived include a study on the relationship of photographs to changes in participant perception and attitude toward a perceived interlocutor. Finally, secondary reinforcements are shown to result in the formation of what can be termed argumentative prejudice and prejudgment, leading to the formation of a sign-mediated "real life situation" (Markel, 1998, p. 46) or argumentative reality that parallels the Peircian state of thirdness and meaning making.

Similarly, social semiotics touches on related theoretical premises to establish that the making and acceptance of truth and reality are mediated results of the semiotic process often used to gain social control, "treat[ing] all semiotic acts and processes as social acts and processes" (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 122). Perhaps the main difference here is that the meaning created via the Peircian process revolves around the "definition of social participants, relations, structures, [and] processes in terms of solidarity or in terms of power" (p. 122). In this sense, conclusions represent the kind of modalities that underlie the "social construction or contestation of knowledge-systems . . . [and as such] is consequently one of the crucial indicators of political struggle . . . a central means of contestation, and the site of the working out . . . of ideological systems" (p. 123).

A striking parallel is the manner in which representations of nationality and culture created, transmitted and reproduced in the L2 culture box can be shown to follow both the same patterns behind the Peircian sign phenomenology, Markel's semiotic psychology and Hodge and Kress' social semiotics, and the pattern whereby archaeological artefacts are reproduced for colonizing states. Anderson (1991) refers to "nationality, or as one might prefer to put it in view of that world's multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism [as] cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (p. 4). He also conceptualizes these created states as being modular in nature.

The theoretical process by which created cultural artefacts of national identity become modular is known as "logoization." The process is the result of classificatory colonizing activities that result in the production of censuses, maps, and museums that conceptually organize the new, foreign territory for the colonizer and eventually comprise a "totalizing classificatory grid, which [can] be applied with endless flexibility to anything under the state's control: peoples, regions, religions, languages, products, monuments, and so forth" (Anderson, 1991, p. 184). Thus is a sign-mediated, colonizing cognitive set formed that is comprised of mutually agreed upon systems of knowledge, values, beliefs, attitudes, and norms concerning the colonized. Meaning has been constructed.

### **Extended Narrative Codes as a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

One of the most common forms of motivated, sign-mediated behaviors that contribute to modularization is the encoding and decoding of meaning found in

storytelling. Humans are narrative creatures and storytelling is a main form of passing on ideas and values. Narration represents a kind of extended code from which a message is derived. As a genre, it became an accepted and important mode of inquiry in semiotic circles by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century following a series of individual works by linguists such as Propp, Cassirer, and Lévi-Strauss, whose work demonstrated that discourse followed a rather limited set of predictable narrative structures (Danesi, 1994, p. 131). Narrative research and the resulting theoretical frameworks concerning narration, narrative structure and discourse thus form an important subset of the theoretical basis of this dissertation.

Semiotic structures provide a foundation for the analysis of the kind of extended narration via which myth is propagated in that they provide a systematic accounting for the “grammar” that underlies narrative structure. One of the earliest studies on sequence in narration was Propp’s (1928) *Morphology of the folktale*. Though functionalist in nature,

Propp’s work ultimately contributed to a beginning exploration of the poetic properties behind narration, providing a taxonomy of structures in narratives that demonstrated their syntagmatic, horizontally structured nature and zeroing in on the functions represented across a corpus of texts, thus aligning narrative properties with a structuralist semiotic framework. (Hawkes, 1977, pp. 67-68)

Now, functions within the text were identifiable and able to be demarcated from one another, creating a cognitive basis for understanding the properties of narratives as a series of functions as they operated in relational contexts. Propp’s identification of thirty one functions (Berger, 1984) centered around seven realms of action including the villain, the donor, the helper, the princess, the dispatcher, the hero and the false hero. These are

further described by Propp as being stable and fundamental, limited, and identical in sequence and in structure (Hawkes, 1977).

This work was furthered by Greimas (1966), who added a structuralist, semiotic element to narration by more closely aligning narrative theory with the kinds of opposition that constitute markedness. In his *Sémantique structurale*, Greimas, like Propp, argues that all of narrative is based on deep structures, reinforcing the claim for a grammar that determines the semantic properties of narration. However, Greimas' focus is on making a case for those structures as consisting of fundamental binary oppositions. Out of Propp's seven spheres of action arise Greimas' three spheres of opposition: Subject vs. Object, Sender vs. Receiver, and Helper vs. Opponent (Hawkes, 1977). It will be demonstrated in Chapter 4 of this data analysis that the blurring of these fundamental categories is a strong tool in the powerful game of representation.

### ***From Classical to Argumentative Narrative***

While the work of Propp and Greimas laid an important foundation for the study of narrative, their text-based approaches failed to account for the telling and retelling of stories as expressions of episodic models that simultaneously represent the interpretation of an event. The sociocultural and sociolinguistic elements of story telling were the focus of one of Labov's (1969) most influential pieces, written with his colleague J. Waletzki. As part of their study "Narrative analysis - oral versions of personal experience," Labov and Waletzki gathered and transcribed a corpus of oral narratives in "real time" from subjects in New York City. An analysis of the oral narratives led to a systematic accounting of their generative and organizational properties. They are said to be:

- a) based on past human actions and cognitions - representative of episodic/situation models
- b) made interesting for the audience through deviant, extra-ordinary or unpredictable information
- c) told for entertainment
- d) organized by a canonical textual schema consisting of a hierarchically organized set of conventional categories: Summary, Orientation, Complication, [Climax], Resolution, Evaluation and Coda/Conclusion
- e) told from varying perspectives, feature the storyteller as participant or not, may be realistic or fictitious
- f) organized by general principles of interaction including turn taking, sequences, negotiation strategies, impression formation. (Van Dijk, 1997, pp. 123-124)

In the vein of his research on discourse and representations of ideology, Van Dijk (1997) takes Labov's classical narrative framework a step further and analyzes storytelling practices and their underlying discourse structures on the premise that "storytelling about ethnic affairs is . . . a form of (discursive) interaction" (p. 122). After extensive data gathering similar to that of Labov's in Amsterdam and San Diego, Van Dijk (1997) concluded that racism is produced and analyzable in secondary narratives existing alongside primary ones and revised the classical narrative framework to accommodate this observation.

Based on his own research in Amsterdam since 1980 centered around the discourse about minorities, Van Dijk (1997) found that the stories his study participants told about minorities have different properties than those listed in the Labovian paradigm. He demonstrates that such stories are told to argue or persuade more than they entertain and are viewed as narratable only if the events are interesting or remarkable in their examples of intergroup encounters. In stories about minorities, the following properties are said to be evident:



- a) based on past experience - encounters with the minority as “evidence” of what is thought to be fact
- b) made interesting to the audience through remarkable incidence of intergroup encounters based on properties or activities of minority group members which are nontrivially *different* (my emphasis) from those of own group members
- c) told to persuade or argue - usually with a negative evaluation
- d) do not follow the same canonical pattern - usually there is no resolution to the conflict in stories told about minorities. (pp. 126-127)

Citing the example of a story told by a research participant about a car accident with a non-English speaking immigrant, he points out categories containing a “second order” story that doesn’t have so much to do with the car accident itself but the consequences of foreigners in the country who can’t speak English.

As a first order story, Van Dijk (1997) argues that the research participant’s conclusion that everything worked out is boring and does not add to the narratability of the story. However, the narrator turned these categories into a secondary narrative about the potential problems that non-English speaking drivers can cause. Van Dijk (1997) points out that this is interesting from an argumentative and not a narrative standpoint, and makes the observation that there is no resolution to the complication of the secondary narrative - namely that the immigrant does not speak English. This demonstrates that while the primary narrative entertains, the second order story complains, accuses and argues by departing from the traditional discourse structure found in narrative (in which the conflict category is resolved) to a narrative structure in which the conflict category is not ever solved.

### *The Ideological Narrative*

I extend this argument to include narratives such as those that will be illuminated in the corpus of data gleaned from the culture box of L2 German textbooks in which the problem category, unlike the argumentative narrative, is solved, but only by eliminating the conflict category through replacement with majority norms or assimilation. I propose in addition to Labov and Waletzki's (1969) classical narrative and Van Dijk's (1997) argumentative narrative a theoretical framework that includes an "ideological" narrative of sorts that applies to both prototypical and non-prototypical narratives and operates on the following premises:

1. based on a hoped for experience - encounters with the minority as evidence of how the majority hopes for them to behave
2. made interesting to the audience through the existence of an exotic Other
3. told to transmit ideology - usually with an assimilative evaluation
4. violates interactional principles such as face impression management, 1st/3rd person subject/object distinction
5. follows a canonical pattern - although the resolution is sometimes eliminative but most often assimilative, meaning that conflict categories are sometimes solved by eliminating the Other, but most often by assimilating the minority to the majority norms for a positive narrative outcome.

It is the ideological deep structures of narrative that are addressed in this dissertation as disseminating and promoting problematic and often subconscious discourses to the public in the guise of innocent and entertaining stories. "We are now

increasingly aware of the significance of narratives in our lives. They are not simply entertainment; they help orient us in the world and give us models of behavior to imitate” (Berger, 1984, p. 51). These orientations and models of behavior are couched in the collective codes that form discourses from ideologies representing the beliefs and values of the public power elite.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis via Culture Studies as a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

The introduction of a public power elite factor necessitates the introduction of critical discourse analysis and culture studies into the theoretical construct of this dissertation. Critical discourse analysis as a method lends itself particularly well to illuminating the representation of the minority “Other” by the majority textbook author, editor and/or publisher because, like discourse analysis, “it takes place at the micro level of social practices involved in the enactment and reproduction of racism” (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 93), because it “allows us to make explicit inferences about the social cognitions of majority group members about minorities from the properties of their text and talk” (p. 94) and finally, because it “makes explicit the ways power abuse of dominant groups and its resulting inequality are enacted, expressed, legitimated or challenged in or by discourse” (p. 96).

For this reason, Van Dijk (1995) later referred to discourse analysis as ideology analysis since “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages” (p. 17). Critical discourse analysis involves two major components beyond the textual

descriptions that constitute discourse analysis proper. These elements are the “*interpretation* of the relationship between text and interaction, and the *explanation* of the relationship between interaction and social context” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 109). Critical discourse analysis thus goes a step beyond discourse analysis proper in that an important bridge between linguistic and cultural studies theory is formed. This bridge is an analysis “which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132.)

While linguistics proper serves to illuminate the textual aspects of discourse, critical discourse analysis relies partially on other disciplines such as cognitive psychology, sociology, and cultural studies to account for the politics of representation. In the realm of culture studies, theories and models of hegemony illustrate the processes by which a majority group creates and maintains power over the minority group(s) by assuming meaning-making roles while impeding the making of meaning by the less powerful. One such process which proves quite effective in coding and meaning making is the creation and maintenance of elite ideologies through access to and control over public discursive practices.

Representation, identity, and authority as they have been expressed and reproduced by textbook writers, editors and publishers gave rise to the kind of stereotypes outlined in the survey of literature on German culture teaching since World War II and increasingly continue to do so as the pedagogical/methodological focus of L2 teaching has turned toward culture. Theoretical frameworks upon which the discipline of linguistic

anthropology and the methodology of critical discourse analysis rest serve to provide a microscope for continued and improved scrutiny of the subtle, yet powerful forces that live within the confines of the “culture box.”

Despite their stated, explicit goal of focusing on language per se, foreign language textbooks in their scope and as a mass medium are busily engaged in creating, transmitting and reproducing culture through use of “language as a set of symbolic resources that enter the constitution of social fabric and the individual representation of actual or possible worlds” (Duranti, 1997, p. 3), or in this case, the imagined community outlined by Anderson (1991).

### **The Dichotomy of Signification as the Theoretical Superframework for Analyzing the L2 Culture Box**

With these multiple sites for and instances of identity contestation, it becomes difficult to identify where it all starts and stops. How does an isolated story relate to a discourse? Is everyday conversation represented in the system of education? How does the media intersect with the textbook? These questions are illuminated by perhaps the most prolific and significant contributor to sign theory and semiotics: Roman Jakobson. His ideas incorporated elements of both the European and American schools of thought, taking thinking on the topic of sign theory to a much higher level, thus becoming the “major ‘catalyst’ in the contemporary ‘semiotic reaction’” (Eco, 1981, p. 111) and serving as the foundation of the theoretical superframework upon which this dissertation is based.

As a student in Moscow, Jakobson rejected his neogrammarian training in favor of a more holistic approach to language that took communicative function into account.

This kind of thinking led to his formation of the Moscow Linguistic Circle in 1915, uniting theorists in linguistics, literature and writing (Waugh & Monville-Burston, 1990, p. 5). Already strongly influenced by Saussure's ideas about language as a system of signs, Jakobson's theorizing elevated the sign to the very essence of language itself, language consisting of a "part-whole hierarchy of signs from the smallest (distinctive features) through phonemes, syllables, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, to the largest (discourses and texts)" (Waugh, 1998, p. 87).

The existing, but until then modest, notion that the structure of signs is based on a dialectic between the perceptable *signans* (signifier) and the conceptual *signatum* (signified) (Eco, 1981) became fundamental to Jakobson's growing work in semiotic theory. Strongly influenced by Heglian dichotomy theory as a student, the notion that everything refers back to something else propelled Jakobson's notion of sign relationships beyond those of Saussure who had inspired him. Having left Russia for Prague in 1920, Jakobson began in earnest to promote his thoughts on language for the purpose of communication, creating a distinctly different school of thought on semiotics in Prague as opposed to the Geneva school led by Saussure.

The Geneva school focused on langue, regarding language structure as consisting purely of isolated sign/signifier relationships and focusing on what language is, promoting static dichotomous relationships between langue/parole and synchrony/diachrony. The Prague school on the other hand was more concerned with parole, regarding language structure as consisting of signs and their relation to each other in communication, focusing on what language does. Concern was shown for both langue

and parole and the idea that understanding both was fundamental to understanding the nature of language as a whole. Jakobson “regarded the two sides of a dichotomy as complimentary and all dichotomies as independent of one another [promoting a state of] dynamic synchrony” (Waugh & Monville-Burston, 1990, p. 9) in linguistics. During his American Period from 1941, Jakobson emphasized the mutual interdependence of langue and parole, promoting the notion that each side of the langue/parole dichotomy is present and operating simultaneously within langue and within parole.

The combined result of Saussure’s, Peirce’s, Barthes’, Austin’s and Searle’s theoretical work, along with that of others such as Levi-Strauss, Hjelmslev, and Martinet, is a system of representation commented on by Jakobson whereby “the opposition of selection and combination is the basis for many diverse dichotomies in language use” (Waugh, 1976, p. 34) and whereby Saussure’s basic dichotomy of parole vs. langue encompasses a complex system of relationships from the minute sign to complex public discursive myths.

These conceptual relationships and the links between those who are responsible for them are outlined as follows by Barthes (1964). Beginning with Saussure’s familiar label of “langue” corresponding to Hjelmslev’s “correlations,” Jakobson’s “similarities” and Martinet’s “oppositions” and starting with the sign, he notes that the properties of the actual object being represented, or Peirce’s second state of thirdness as embodied in the signifier/*signans*, fit well on the paradigmatic axis where selection and decoding are the primary functions. Internal relationships based on similarities of substitution sets give rise to synonym, antonym, resemblance, analogy, metalanguage and metaphor. He posits

applications to larger discourses as arising from this axis, thus in this state of constructed equivalence and selection thrives poetry, metaphor, lyrical songs, Romanticism, and Surrealism Jakobson, poetic function and similarity, thematic literary criticism and definition by substitution.

Conversely, according to Barthes (1964), Saussure's familiar "parole" is called "relations" by semioticians such as Hjelmslev, "contiguity" by Jakobson and "contrasts" by Martinet. In terms of the smallest element of semiotics - the sign - the properties of the possibility of language via the representation of the interpretant take on a more important function. Barthes relates Peirce's third state of thirdness, consisting of possibility and the representation of the interpretant inherent to the signified/*signatum*, to the syntagmatic axis where combination and encoding are operant. He states further that the combination of external elements based on contiguity, or concurrent sequentiality, underlies concepts of proximity vs. remoteness or coordination vs. subordination and is the basis of predications. Larger discourses are posited as evolving from the part for whole equivalence relationship and are said to include heroic epics, narratives and the work of Realists, prose and contiguity, as well as popular novels and newspaper narratives.

While all of the semiotic theorists worked from the framework of dichotomous relationships, and while Saussure claimed that change arises in parole and finds its way into langue, it was Jakobson who distilled the symbiotic essence of the dichotomy. He postulated that

. . . any metaphoric series is a syntagmatized paradigm and any metonymy a syntagm which is frozen and absorbed in a system; in metaphor, selection becomes contiguity and in metonymy, contiguity becomes a field to select from. It



therefore seems that it is always on the frontiers of the two planes that creation has the chance to occur. (quoted in Barthes, 1964, p. 88)

This dissertation illuminates the metaphoric state of syntagmatized paradigm and the metonymic state of frozen syntagm as they are presented within and outside of the culture box of the L2 textbook. The first theoretical layer of this final proposal was outlined in the Peircian sign phenomenology. To this construct was added an overlay of Barthesian mythology at the code theory level. Subsequently, the process by which discourses develop via social micro and macrostructures as the primary vehicle for the formulation of propositions and arguments from which we derive “truth” and “reality” was shown to be parallel and provide yet another layer to the theoretical construct upon which the dissertation builds.

This final layer places the Saussurean paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes squarely within the multi-layered construct that has been built up and illustrates the Jakobian dichotomy that glues the entire model together with respect to its application to the data set contained in the L2 culture box. (See Figure 2.4.) As with the other constructs that form its basis, this model is intended to be read diagonally top left to bottom right, and in doing so, illuminates the process by which the pure state of firstness is transformed into contextualized, cultured meaning at the intersection of the constant interplay between the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes.

<i>Sign (Firstness)</i>		<i>Object (Secondness)</i>					
		Icon①	Index②	Symbol③			
Qualisign① - pure sign							
Sinsign②	Rheme/ Name ①	individual label	P a r a d i g	named relational existence	P a r a d i g	M e t a p h o r i c	“ <i>langue</i> ”  poetry metaphor similarity selection message synchrony
	Dicent/ Proposition ②		a d i g	proposed relational existence			
		<b>Syntagmatic Axis</b>					
Legi- sign③	Rheme/ Name ①	collective label	m a t i c	named relational generality	m a t i c	p l a n e	Constructed Equivalence  (Culture Box Narration)
	Dicent/ Proposition ②		i c	propositional relational generality			
	Argument③		A x i s		A x i s		
		Discourse P l a n e					Decoding
		“ <i>parole</i> ” prose, metonymy, contiguity, combination, code, diachrony					
		Part for Whole Equivalence (Textbook Discourse)					Encoding
<i>Interpretant (Thirdness)</i>		<b>Constructed MEANING</b>					

Figure 2.4. From firstness to meaning in the L2 culture box.

While the data analysis in subsequent chapters must prove to be more refined and complex than this simple dichotomous theoretical observation, Saussure's basic parole/langue framework combined with subsequent work aligning it with syntagm/system, metaphor/metonymy, similarity/contiguity, message/code, syntagm/paradigm and decoding/encoding and crowned with an enriched view of dichotomous relationships is the most permeating theoretical work from which this dissertation borrows and upon which its outcomes rest.

Those outcomes are theorized thus: portrayals of subjects/objects in the L2 culture box align themselves with second order sign systems such as connotation and denotation in the Barthian sense, with "langue" in the Saussurean sense, and with the paradigmatic axis in the Jakobsonian sense. Similarly, subject/object portrayals outside of the L2 culture box align themselves with third order sign systems in the Barthesian sense, with "parole" in the Saussurean sense, and with the syntagmatic axis in the Jakobsonian sense. This is complicated by a distinct feature within the second order, first person portrayals, where first person/third person subject/object blurring occurs to the advantage of existing power hegemonies.

The result is that culture box "subject" portrayals, some of which are objectified third party myths presented as first person narratives, find their way into the discourse field of the German learner on the paradigmatic plane as individual, marked instances. They then reappear as acceptable commentaries, metonyms, metaphors and meta-metaphors on the syntagmatic plane in reading texts, grammar exercises, and listening dialogs among other discourses in the unmarked areas of the overall textbook. In this

manner, the intersection of sign phenomenology, mythology, code theory and paradigmatic/syntagmatic interplay works in multi-faceted ways to create a type of mythically-driven, pseudo-connotative state that evolves into a firm denotative, myth-reinforcing “reality” about the “Other” for the L2 learner of German. It also accounts for the problematic politics of representation in a created, imagined community of L1 German speakers for a tangible, assembled community of L2 German learners, as will be demonstrated more tangibly in later chapters.

### CHAPTER 3

#### CURATING THE EXOTIC: THE RELICS OF THE CULTURE BOX

In order to better understand the process by which the mythological contents of the culture box find their way onto the paradigmatic discourse plane of the L2 learner on their way to inclusion on the syntagmatic plane, it is first necessary to take a look at the culture box as its own entity, for it is here at the artefactual site of the “dig” that the process of reconstructing the entity of “L2 Culture” actually begins. This chapter will illustrate that the culture box as a marked entity represents the upper left-hand quadrant of firstness in which the pure sign begins its journey. It will also demonstrate how the iconic nature of the culture box lays a foundation for and moves into motivated signification and myth-making as an extension of colonial theory. The processes that build upon that, such as discourse building are illustrated in Chapter 4. Finally, the resulting metaphors and “truth” substantiations upon which the reality of the cultured, sign-mediated public - in this case the community of U.S. L2 German learners - exist will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

Toward this end, the culture box and its contents will be shown to possess characteristics assigned to the museum, the map and the census as outlined in Anderson’s (1991) *Imagined Communities*. It is noted as well that the tumultuous ebb and flow of the intersections of German nation-state, language-state and culture-state all converge in the culture box at this level, feeding into a 21<sup>st</sup> century culture box that constructs a type of marked immigrant that subtly supports the formation of a non-immigration state (Fennel,

1997) from cultural imaginings as the analysis progresses into later chapters.

Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that these characteristics provide the necessary imaginings needed for the exotic “Other” to emerge, be commented on, and be woven into the public myths and discourses via a marked, semiotic, argumentative/ideological narrative message engaged in political representation of the “Other” in intertextual dialog with L2 learners.

### **The Culture Box as Museum**

This study focuses on the six most-used, post-secondary, first-year L2 German textbooks in the United States as reported by 127 post-secondary German professors and instructors (Olsen, 2000). In addition, two other beginning texts (*Vorsprung* and *Fokus Deutsch*) were selected based on their self-reported, distinct effort to make culture a basis for the writing of the textbooks themselves, bringing the total analyzed material to eight texts. All of these materials are produced by U.S. publishers for a U.S. L2 German audience. In descending order of new adoptions, these textbooks are outlined in Table 3.1.

When rated holistically by the instructors that participated in the survey of the first six textbooks in the table, *Deutsch heute* received the highest overall ratings, followed by *Kontakte*, then *Wie geht's?* and *Neue Horizonte* in a tie, then *Deutsch Na klar!* and lastly, *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Olsen, 2000). Cultural material in this survey was “lauded when it is sensitive, multi-national, informative, and up to date” (p. 139), with

Table 3.1

*Currently Most Adopted Post-Secondary L2 German Textbooks*

Title	Ed.	Publisher	Author(s)	Year
Kontakte	4 <sup>th</sup>	McGraw-Hill	Terrell/Tschirner/Nikolai	2000
Neue Horizonte	5 <sup>th</sup>	Houghton Mifflin	Dollenmeyer/Hanson	1999
Deutsch heute	7 <sup>th</sup>	Houghton Mifflin	Moeller/Adolph/Hoecherl-Alden/ Lalande	2000
Deutsch: Na klar!	3 <sup>rd</sup>	McGraw-Hill	DiDonato/Clyde/Vasant	2000
Wie geht's?	6 <sup>th</sup>	Heinle	Sevin/Sevin	2000
Treffpunkt Deutsch	3 <sup>rd</sup>	Prentice Hall	Widmaier/Widmaier	1999
Vorsprung	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Houghton Mifflin	Lovik/Guy/Chavez	2002
Fokus Deutsch 1&2	1 <sup>st</sup>	McGraw-Hill	Delia/Fritz/Finger/Newton/Daves-Schneider/Schneider/DiDonato	2000

*Kontakte* and to a lesser extent, *Neue Horizonte* being seen as “deficient in cultural material” (p. 142) by survey respondents, while *Deutsch Na klar!* was chided for its lack of sophistication in said materials. In summary,

... almost half the respondents expressed the desire for less trivial information, many with detectable irritation at the authors and publishers for having reduced the content to the lowest common denominator. Many deplored a narrow range of current and trendy topics seen as dominating textbooks from high school through college, and the inherent lack of progression in sophistication and depth. (p. 142)

Although analyzable cultural information is contained in multiple parts of these L2 German textbooks, it is interesting to note that each still contains and relies to a significant extent upon one or several clearly demarcated culture section(s) within each of its chapters. For the purposes of the analysis component of this dissertation, only that

material which was identified by the authors of the texts themselves and designated in a specific “culture” portion of the textbook was selected for commentary. In descending order of the exposure to German culture that these texts provide according to reports on new adoptions in U.S. German Departments, those cultural material designations are as follows.

*Kontakte* (Terrell et al., 2000) relegates cultural information to the “Kulturecke” (Culture Corner) and the “Kultur . . . Landeskunde . . . Informationen” (Culture, Geography, Information) section of the text, connected in each chapter with a “Porträt” (Portrait) feature that “presents important historical figures from the German-speaking countries, along with profiles of the cities from which the figures come” (p. xviii). These features of the text “offer cultural insights into the German-speaking world [and] are accompanied by activities that aid students in comparing and contrasting their own culture with that of the German speaking countries” (p. xvii) in line with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) 5 Cs.

*Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999) provides the student with the “Almanach,” designed to “supplement each chapter’s cultural presentation in various ways [including] provid[ing] information in English on the chapter topic (for example vital statistics on the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland; or information on schools, political parties, or foreign residents)” (p. 13). *Deutsch heute* (Moeller et. al., 2000) brings us the “Land und Leute” (The Country and Its People) box, designed to “provide more in-depth cultural information about many aspects of the



German-speaking countries [with each] accompanied by a photo to further illustrate the cultural topic” (p. x).

*Deutsch: Na klar!* (DiDonato et al., 2000) provides the learner with the periodic “Kulturtipp” (Culture Tip) which, “enhanced with photos or other visuals . . . expands on the cultural information presented in the . . . activities and exercises, and readings” (p. xxi). *Wie geht’s?* (Sevin & Sevin, 2000) gives the reader “Fokus” (Focus) sections that “appear throughout the chapters; . . . present[ing] cultural topics that reflect contemporary German society” with focus of the later chapters on “spotlight[ing] a literary figure and present[ing] one of his or her poems” (p. xix) and “Einblicke” (Peeks/Insights) “featur[ing] one or more cultural aspects related to the chapter topic” (p. xviii).

*Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999) provides cultural information on a “Kultur” (Culture) page, a “Leute” (People) page or in a smaller “Infobox.” In this textbook, “the development of cultural competence continues to be a major goal. . . . The culture of German-speaking countries is not relegated to the Kultur sections, but pervades all aspects of the text, including the line drawings” (p. xviii). In addition, this is a textbook through which students “meet many characters of various ethnic backgrounds” (p. xvii).

*Vorsprung* (Lovik et al., 2001) has a sense of urgency in its “Brennpunkt Kultur,” indicating a focal point as well as the boiling point within the discipline of physics. *Fokus Deutsch* takes a more narcissistic approach with the “Kulturspiegel” (Cultural Mirror). This analysis posits that in each of these texts, the people, ideas and objects chosen for inclusion in this special display area have been “disinterred, unjungled, measured,

photographed, reconstructed, fenced off, analysed, and displayed” (Anderson, 1991, p. 179) for the purposes of controlled representation to an assumed inexperienced audience of L2 German learners.

The process by which this representative data is gathered and selected for, presented to and consumed by the L2 German learning public finds its parallel in both the Peircian sign phenomenology and in the processes by which colonized territories are isolated, exoticized and made available for pleasurable consumption by their colonizing populations. As outlined by Anderson (1991), the stages of this process include:

(1) massive, technically sophisticated archeological reports, complete with dozens of photographs, recording the process of reconstruction of particular, distinct ruins; (2) Lavishly illustrated books for public consumption. . . . Thanks to print capitalism, a sort of pictorial census . . . becomes available, even if at a high cost, to the state’s subjects; (3) A general logoization, made possible by the profaning processes outlined above. (p. 182)

Those profaning processes are found at least to some degree in the production and use of map, museum and census in categorizing the Other.

### **The Marked Culture Box as Map**

It is the case in all of the textbooks that the culture materials are not only “marked” - or set aside in diametric opposition to the materials found in the rest of the text - via a label, but also through visual markers such as a literal box demarcated either by solid lines, a different background color, or both. Thus, for users of the L2 textbooks, domains of the various language activities are “mapped,” giving the learner a “birds-eye” overview of the topography of L2 German learning. In both concept and visual result, the lines and colors demarcating the culture box from the remaining “territory” of the L2




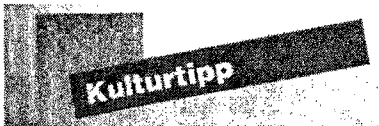
German text is reminiscent of the practice of mapping that evolved from colonization; namely the “map-as-logo” (Anderson, 1991, p. 175) grounded in the practice of assigning colonies on maps to a marked color scheme that linked it to its colonizer while detaching it from its surrounding geographic neighbors and markers.




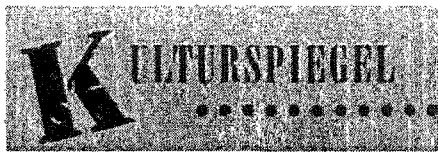
Dyed this way, each colony appeared like the detachable piece of a jigsaw puzzle. As this ‘jigsaw’ effect became normal, each ‘piece’ could be wholly detached from its geographic context. In its final form all explanatory glosses could be summarily removed: lines of longitude and latitude, place names, signs for rivers, seas, and mountains, *neighbours*. Pure sign, no longer compass to the world. In this shape, the map entered an infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloths, and hotel walls. Instantly recognizable, everywhere visible, the logo-map penetrated deep into the popular imagination, forming a powerful emblem for the anticolonial nationalisms being born. (p. 175)

The relationship between the logo-map as icon and the culture box as sign is significant. Just as nations are imagined, modeled, adapted and transformed within the sign-mediated arena of shared public discourse, so too does a similar reproductive process occur as the culture box is mapped onto and within the textbook. One notes that not only are the culture boxes literal boxes, tinted and outlined in such a manner that demarcates them as belonging to a specific textual-political realm, but also that many have their own respective icons. The culture box icons are illustrated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

*Culture Box Icons in Analyzed Post-Secondary L2 German Textbooks*

L2 German Textbook	Culture Box Icon
<i>Kontakte</i>	 <p>Terrell, Tschirmer, and Nikolai. <i>Kontakte</i> 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. ©2000 McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. Used with permission.</p>
<i>Neue Horizonte</i> (appears vertically)	 <p>Dollenmayer and Hanson. <i>Neue Horizonte</i> 5<sup>th</sup> Edition. ©1999 by Houghton Mifflin. Used with permission.</p>
<i>Deutsch heute</i>	 <p>Moeller, et al. <i>Deutsch heute</i> 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. ©2000 by Houghton-Mifflin. Used with permission.</p>
<i>Deutsch: Na klar!</i>	 <p>DiDonato, Clyde and Vansant. <i>Deutsch: Na klar!</i> 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. ©2000 by McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. Used with permission.</p> <p>(table continues)</p>

L2 German Textbook	Culture Box Icon
<i>Wie geht's?</i>	 <p>From <i>Wie geht's? Text/Audio CD pkg.</i> , 6<sup>th</sup> edition, by. ©2000. Reprinted with permission of Heinle and Heinle a division of Thomas Learning. Fax 800 730-2215.</p>
<i>Treffpunkt Deutsch</i>	 <p>Widmaier and Widmaier. <i>Treffpunkt Deutsch</i>. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. ©1999 by Prentice Hall. Used with permission.</p>
<i>Vorsprung</i> (appears vertically)	 <p>Lovik, Guy and Chavez. <i>Vorsprung</i>. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. ©2002 by Houghton Mifflin. Used with permission.</p>
<i>Fokus Deutsch 1&amp;2</i>	 <p>Delia et al. <i>Fokus Deutsch 1&amp;2</i>. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. ©2000 by McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. Used with permission.</p>

These culture box icons clearly demarcate culture learning from other language activities such as speaking, listening, reading, writing, etc., many of which have their own territories and icons as well. Returning to the Peircian concept of the icon and iconicity, we will recall that the icon is one of three sign types and that it first appears in the first state of secondness - or the state in which objects have qualities that give them the possibility/potentiality of interpretation and which typically are interpreted based on the characteristics of said qualities, i.e. similarity.

Demarcation via icon is the first step away from the first state of firstness (the qualisign, which exists in a state of abstracted decontextualization) toward the motivated, cultured, semiotic use of a specific sign that begins its journey at the level of secondness first represented by the sinsign. Recall from the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2 that the intersection of sinsign and icon yields an individual label, but does not imply the kind of relational existences inherent in the second and third states of secondness or in any of the states of thirdness. In other words, the culture icon merely serves to “mark” the site of the culture box within the semiotic process as fertile ground for named and proposed relational existences to occur; and later, in states of thirdness, for collective labels, named and proposed relational generalities, and “truth” propositions to follow. Knowing that the culture box site itself is marked as fertile ground for the beginning of the signification process, it then becomes important to have a better understanding of the contents that are feeding into that process as it moves into its state of conscious secondness toward its final state of operant thirdness.

### A Relics Census of the Marked Culture Box Site

The colonial census served to categorize the inhabitants of various exotic places for reasons ranging from classification to aid in understanding to taxation, military conscription, and finally, to substantiate imaginings upon which social grids and institutions could be built. However, “the real innovation of the [colonial] census takers . . . was . . . not in the *construction* of ethnic-racial classifications, but rather in their systematic *quantification*” (Anderson, 1991, p. 168). A quantification of the corpus contents of the L2 culture box provides a clearer picture of what types of information are being transmitted and to what extent, as illustrated in Figure 3.1.

The basis for the non-inferential, quantitative analysis that follows is one of clearly discernable themes and the number of textbooks they appear in one or more times within the total analyzed corpus of eight texts. This kind of tally was chosen due primarily to the manner in which textbooks are used. It is unlikely that the L2 German learner will be formally exposed to and intensely working with more than one text during the basic language experience. The results illustrated in the bar graph constituting Figure 3.1 are couched in the likelihood of exposure of the total pool of L2 German learners to certain cultural concepts rather than the individual number of instances of cultural categories and related subcategories within each of the books themselves.

This information merely represents a greatly compacted, summarized overview of almost 600 total textbook pages from eight texts, and it should be noted that the points on the bar graph represent a total number of L2 German textbooks containing individual,

identifiable themes. They do not correspond to specific, individual titles within the corpus. A discussion of the contents of individual texts follows in this chapter.

Post-Secondary L2 German Textbook Culture Box Themes	Number of Textbooks In Total Corpus (N=8) in Which Theme Appears One or More Times
German Immigrants/Foreigners	7/8
BaFöG (German Financial Aid)	6/8
German School System	
Ethnic/Regional Food	
University Life	
Switzerland	
Housing	
Berlin	
General Customs and Holidays	5/8
Automobiles and Driving	
Family Policy	
Mealtimes	
Money	
Post Office/Telephone	4/8
Student Housing	
East Germany	
WWII Berlin	
Train System	
Restaurants	
Austria	
Du/Sie	

(figure continues)

Figure 3.1. A census of the 21<sup>st</sup> century L2 culture box.



Where German is Spoken	3/8	
German Emigration		
Vocational Education		
Acquaintance/Friend		
Cafes/Coffee Houses		
Greetings/Farewell		
Women in Industry		
Numerus Clausus		
Weather/Climate		
Spelling Reform		
European Union		
Health Insurance		
Grimm Brothers		
Youth Hostels		
Gender Roles		
Film Industry		
Reunification		
Holocaust		
Television		
Vacations		
Shopping		
Europe		
Vienna	3/8	

*Figure 3.1.* A census of the 21<sup>st</sup> century L2 culture box.

It is often the case that themes are repeated within the individual L2 German textbooks analyzed, or grouped into related cultural themes based on the communication

goals of chapters, so while portraits of individual people represent the most total individual instances of cultural information numerically, the issue of ethnic minorities as a thematized culture box topic is the most prevalent across the textbook corpus and therefore has the most potential for entering the information realm of the L2 German learner.

When individual themes are lumped into larger “Big C” and “little c” supercategories, a different picture emerges that contains, in descending numerical instances of representation, portraits of 38 different German-speaking individuals; geography, weather and climate of 20 cities and 4 countries; German institutions such as the university and school systems; daily life, mostly constituted of housing and ethnic/regional food habits; the history of World War II Berlin and East Germany; sociopragmatic concerns such as greeting and leave taking, the difference between friends and acquaintances and its correspondence to formal/informal address; popular culture represented by the television and film industries; high culture represented by theater and literature and that put forth by the Goethe Institute; general outlines of customs and holidays during the calendar year; citizenship issues; and finally, linguistic concerns of German such as High German and German dialects and the recent German spelling reform.

### ***A Comparison of Post World War II and Current C2 Contents***

It is noted that the categories of topics chosen for the culture box in L2 texts from the 1990s and later are relatively parallel though greatly expanded when compared to those that appeared from the end of World War II through the 1970s - the last time a

major analysis was conducted. You will recall that the picture of Germany most students recreated for the researcher was a country of two cities - Berlin and Munich - with a preference for Southern clothing and customs. These two regions were roughly connected in their minds by the country's one river - the pristine Rhine. The inhabitants of this strange land drink beer and eat regional foods such as *Knackwurst* and *Sauerkraut* while wearing Lederhosen and Dirndl around the quaint remains of the neighborhood castle. The textual analyses from the 1950s through the 1970s showed a hardworking Germany concentrated on rebuilding and modernization in work settings; strict paternal rule in family settings; and formality, distance, and obedience in university settings. Political and historical information was found to be lacking and focused only on clichés about the Hitler era and reassurances that West Germany had made satisfactory post-war efforts at becoming a democracy (Beitter, 1983).

This picture of the German speaking realm is, not surprisingly, somewhat codified into the structures of the current generation of textbooks as well. During the passage of time and under normal biological circumstances, language proper is passed from generation to generation without hesitation or breakdown in the code system. Though it can be said that culture is a more contested site, relying less on nature and more on nurture and the attending rites of passage and social structures that keep it alive, culture too is to a large degree passed from generation to generation with change being difficult. Breaking down the "code" system of culture requires a very explicit knowledge of the signification process at work as well as a detached view of the elements feeding the semiotic process that few are likely to possess in a complete enough form to eradicate or

even significantly alter it. Even if this were possible, it may prove undesirable because classification, agreement and common understanding are cognitively foundational to the human sense of self and the world.

The cultural identity code in question here seems to be a complex one formed at the ever-shifting axes of economic, political, linguistic, and ideological concerns as they exist in a mutually-agreed upon fashion in the mind of the German public. They, in turn, seem to be impressed upon those who encounter and work with things German, including U.S. American textbook writers. At the center of this axis are two foundational notions that have been established in earlier discussion about the history of culture teaching, about signification and mythology, and about German identity: (a) Germanness as expressed through culture has historically equaled language, high literature, and economy in that order, and (b) highlighting difference, preferably in a marked forum, was and continues to be crucial to the oppositional Other that the German needs to be German.

The forces of both signification processes and ever-shifting and unresolved cultural identity code systems helped to generate this newest generation of textbooks that focus heavily on “the search for a national identity [that] goes back to a time well before Bismarck united the country in 1871” (Sevin & Sevin, 2000, p. 414) as one *Wie geht's?* culture box flatly posits, doing so by focusing heavily on ethnic minorities in the German-speaking realm. Understandably though not entirely excusably, they cannot help but continue to perpetuate a signification process that creates a 21<sup>st</sup> century Germany where a multi-ethnic variety of peoples and foods is either consuming or being consumed by or for industrious, successfully democratized, reunified Germans in Berlin or another major

metropolitan area with special focus on the activities of six marked groups of producers and consumers - The Swiss German, The Austrian German, The East German, The Turkish Guest Worker, The German Mother, and The Ethnic German - and their existence within a topographical/linguistic realm.

### *Geographic Preference and C2*

Defining that realm itself is a major concern of the culture box. Representing the second most numerous instances of information found therein, geography, weather, and climate concerns point back to the map as harbinger of culture. In the eight books examined, twenty different cities and three German-speaking countries were highlighted, many more than once. This is partly due to the fact that *Kontakte* combines a portrait of a historical/cultural figure with a portrait of the city in which he/she was born, thus contributing in part to geography being a highly addressed topic in the culture box corpus, as well as to the individual portrait being the most represented entity therein. This will be discussed later in the chapter as a segue into the contents of Chapter 4.

Returning to the issue of geography, the city of Berlin and the country of Switzerland tied for appearing as specific entities unto themselves in the corpus; in some books they made several separate, multiply thematized appearances in the culture box. While it is no surprise that Berlin as the political capital of the unmarked Federal Republic of Germany was highly thematized, it is interesting to note that Switzerland rivals Berlin in this regard. Because this is a small corpus of data with many approaches to culture and the culture box lumped into one data set, it is entirely possible and even likely that this was mere coincidence. However, it is interesting to note that while the

feature of Berlin that is repeatedly thematized is its earlier political status as a “symbol of the German division” according to *Vorsprung* (Lovik et al., 2002, p. 420), the “linguistically and culturally . . . highly diversified country” (Moeller et al., 2000, p. 314) of Switzerland is posited as in *Deutsch heute* as unified, but “in only a political sense.” Despite *Treffpunkt Deutsch*’s assertion of the fact that it is “a country of four distinct cultures and it has four official languages” (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 145), “the Swiss [according to *Wie geht’s?*] avoid giving preference to one of their four national languages” (Sevin & Sevin, 2000, p. 230).

This emphasis on political unity and repeated culture box references to the duration of the Confederation Helvetica despite a long history of linguistic and cultural diversity may fill an idealized need for the political stability foundational to cultural identity proper which Berlin simply cannot due to the political reality of its history. Other popular cities or themes in this category include four overviews of the Germany/Austria/Switzerland trichotomy as a merged German-speaking (id)entity, four portrayals of Austria as a separate (id)entity, three thematizations of tiny Lichtenstein, and three overviews of where German is spoken. Interestingly, this is never posited in the marked culture box to be the unmarked Germany proper, nor are the historio-politically grey areas of Poland, the Czech Republic and the Ukraine or the little-contested, German speaking areas to the northwest of Germany included in this tally with the exception of one textbook, *Neue Horizonte*.

Unlike the numerous and repeated emphases on political unity in Switzerland, the portrayal of Austria - much like its history - is less stable. Repeated references are made

to the multi-national, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual Austro-Hungarian Empire and the emergence of modern Austria as host of the United Nations after throwing off the effects of German annexation after World War II. The cultural impact that Austria has had on music is also repeatedly thematized. One culture box in *Neue Horizonte* makes music and literature synonymous with Austrian identity (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, p. 415), and the old standby of Austrian “Gemüt” (joviality and relaxed nature) still finds its way into current materials, as this text informs us that “the Germans are industrious, but the Austrians tend to be light-hearted/goodnatured” (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, p. 416, my translation).

Further geographic concerns addressed are Germany’s relative position in Europe, the European Union, and a general accounting of Germany’s weather and climate, each of which constitutes the culture box in three analyzed textbooks across the corpus. However, it is interesting to note that the earlier geographic preference for the South seems to have dissipated somewhat, with Munich only being showcased in the culture box of two texts. Also, *Wie geht’s?* “cultural capital” (Sevin & Sevin, 2000, p. 401) of Weimar, harbinger of classical literary achievement in Goethe and Schiller, only appears twice as a thematized city, once specifically “because of its popular associations with Germany’s classical tradition” (p. 401).

Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig and Dresden and numerous other cities appear as themes individually in the various textbooks, however, they are all relatively good-sized cities. Nowhere is life in the rural or small town German-speaking realm shown to be representative of culture in said realm. This may be due partially to the fact that life in a

rural setting does little to portray the successes that democratization and westernization have had, nor to showcase the material results of that success. Such successes were created around the core of production and consumption and the capital ability to consume that became tied to (West) German postwar national identity once the illusion of the classical Germany of Weimar via Goethe and Schiller was shattered by history.

### ***Economic Production and Consumption, German Identity, and C2***

Deprived of a nation state not only during the colonial era, but also for 40 years in the aftermath of World War II while the German constitution remained legally invalid until the reunification treaty was signed in 1990, West Germans struggled once again with the issue of identity. While the East was building an identity based on ideology and even an insistence on a different German language, West Germany's identity became fragmented by the confidence of East German nation-statehood. No longer able to rely on language proper or a canonical literary cultural marker of Germanness proper, the search for a new identity marker resulted in an identification with the only tangible result of World War II for the West - the economic "Wirtschaftswunder" obtained via democratization and reconstruction.

West Germany's subsequent emergence as a world economy and the products that resulted such as a notable work ethic and big cars became tangible manifestations of the West German sense of self (Reiher, 1996) and nation. This is not lost on the L2 German learner, who is told in one culture box of *Wie geht's?* that learning German is advantageous because "after all, the German economy is the strongest in Europe" (Sevin & Sevin, 2000, p. 26) and "of course, the opportunities offered by the powerful



economies of neighboring Austria and Germany” (p. 49) provide ample incentive for Eastern Europeans to study it as well. According to *Vorsprung*, “because of Germany’s strong economic position, German vies with and even surpasses English as the preferred language of commerce for millions” (Lovik et al., 2001, p. 31).

Thus it is no surprise that on the pages of the modern culture box we repeatedly encounter both production and consumption as it is related to German identity. The stereotype of the disciplined, (i.e., “West”) German who loves to work, and by extension earn and consume, is well and alive in the community of L1 German speakers imagined for the L2 German learner. Currency and automobiles are directly thematized in the culture boxes proper of over half of the textbooks surveyed. Store opening and closing times are also popular topics for the culture box given that the Germans, according to *Deutsch heute* are a people for whom “shopping is an integral part of daily life” (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 113).

*Wie geht’s* reinforces the tie between economy and High German, which is learned “so as not to be at a disadvantage . . . on the job market” (Sevin & Sevin, 2000, p. 179). We furthermore learn that instead of shoring their own German identity for its own sake, traditions are “carried on not only out of reverence for the past, but possibly also to foster tourism, which contributes significantly to the German economy” (p. 126). We are also informed in the same text that a strong tradition of labor unions contributes in Germany to “one of the highest standards of living in the world” (p. 337).

This may partially explain why, in a *Neue Horizonte* reading text outside of the culture box, “except for Sundays, Christine Sauermann [a 35 year old book store owner]

works very industriously in her shop” (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, p. 144, my translation). And in *Deutsch heute*, 31 year old Evi substantiates to us in yet another reading text that “many people say the Germans work too much and are very industrious. I also think sometimes that I work too much” (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 208, my translation).

However, lest we as textbook users get a completely skewed view of the German work ethic, it should comfort us to know from the culture box proper of the same text that “although the Germans have a reputation for being industrious, they are also known as the world champions in leisure time . . . rank[ing] second among the industrialized nations in paid vacation time,” much of which they use for “taking vacations abroad [where they] spend more than 75 billion marks” (Moeller et al., 2000, p. 202). *Wie geht’s* substantiates this claim, informing us that “with relatively high incomes and a minimum of three weeks’ paid vacation each year, Germans are among the world’s greatest travelers” (Sevin & Sevin, 2000, p. 255), providing an interesting tie back to the travel and exploration inherent in colonization.

### ***The Marked East German and C2***

The strong German as earner identity is also created, in part, by a careful construction of the oppositional force that the Wirtschaftswunder outshone. In four of the eight textbooks, East Germany is thematized in an individual culture box, often more than once per text. Perhaps more than any other site mapped out by the L2 German textbook, the former East Germany and the inhabitants of that geopolitical realm are portrayed linguistically via passive constructions, indicating more so than with any other group the

denial of the right to represent themselves to the museum-goer. The cultural materials regarding German unification found in *Neue Horizonte* inform the reader that “the former GDR *was divided* [my emphasis] into five new states (Länder) of the Federal Republic” (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, p. 20), which were then, according to *Deutsch heute* “*referred to* [my emphasis] as FNL (Fuenf Neue Laender): Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, and Thüringen)” (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 352).

It is to be noted that with only minor variations, the five states that comprise the area of what was East Germany existed before the division of Germany. Yet only *Fokus Deutsch* (Finger et al., 2000b) portrays a factual and self-determined process using the active voice, whereby “the local districts (Bezirke) of the DDR reorganized *themselves* [my emphasis] into regional Länder, which then petitioned the West German parliament to join the Federal Republic as federal states under Article 23 of the West German Basic Law (Grundgesetz)” (p. 120). This is unfortunately the least adopted text in this corpus.

Despite this one example of positive and self-determined East German identity formation, all texts in the corpus not only juxtapose the East and West German economies, but do so in a way that sets up the West German economy as the standard against which the other is measured. In *Deutsch heute*, we are informed how “economic unification revealed that the economy of East Germany, the strongest in Eastern Europe and supporting the highest living standard in that area, was by Western standards in shambles” (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 352). In *Neue Horizonte*, this is attributed to “forty years of state ownership and lack of competition [leaving] eastern Germany’s industry obsolete and unable to compete in the Western marketplace” (Dollenmayer & Hanson,

1999, p. 20). The result in *Vorsprung* is an imagined East German community in which “quality consumer goods - everything from automobiles to bananas - were virtually impossible to obtain” (Lovik et al., 2001, p. 178), a decidedly weak spot in the arena of post-war German consumer identity.

Notwithstanding some clear social advantages of the East German system, the lack of East German ability to consume is posited across the corpus as the introduction of a problem category that would eventually cause the demise of this particular political entity, to which cultural materials in *Deutsch heute* allude.

While the citizens of East Germany liked the fact that there was no unemployment, that government subsidies kept rents and prices of food staples low, and that the government provided health care and a pension system, they found that the political system restricted individual freedom, and the scarcity of non-staple consumer goods was a daily irritant. (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 349)

The eventual effect of this dichotomy is portrayed by the authors of *Vorsprung* in no uncertain terms for the L2 German learner, who is told that “West Berlin became everything that East Berlin was not: affluent, colorful, free-spirited, and western. East Berlin, in contrast, turned somber as East Germany made its transition to a Marxist workers’ state and socialist economy” (Lovik et al., 2001, pp. 477-478).

These portrayals take on the flavor of a wider discursive dichotomy of West German superiority and East German inferiority following the reunification in 1990, which has been described by some as “an extension of the laws of the Federal Republic into the territory of the GDR” (Osmond, 1992, p. 65). This description alludes to colonization and the preceding examples of majority perspective and minority representation in the culture box can be demonstrated to have parallels with the kind of

travel writing that took place among the European colonizers as they engaged in the process of representing the colonized.

In her book *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, Pratt (1992) attributes travel writing to the need of a dominant societal entity to “present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself” (p. 6). She posits this kind of activity to occur in contact zones, a term she borrows from linguistics representing the geographic realm in which pidgins arise. For her purposes, Pratt describes such zones as the “spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect” (p. 7) as is clearly the case with East and West Germans. Furthermore, she posits that “a ‘contact’ perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other . . . often within radically asymmetrical relations of power” (p. 7).

For the purposes of this dissertation and the analysis of the examples of culture box portrayals of East and West Germans, I posit that such a zone can also be and is being created in the culture box as part of an imagined community in which idealized thoughts give rise to discourse that accommodates a need for communication in identity encounters. Such communication centers around the reinforcement of power dichotomies that feed an overarching analogy on German/German relations: East Germans correspond to West Germans as foreign, exotic Others correspond to civilizing colonizers.

While the contact zone provides a context for travel writing, Pratt (1992) also identifies two processes at work within that zone: anti-conquest, in which “bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert . . . hegemony”

(p. 7), and autoethnographic expression, in which “colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer’s own terms” (p. 7). These processes are demonstrated to be at work in the culture box. Via the subtle tactic of anti-conquest, an “affluent, colorful, free-spirited and western” (Lovik et al., 2001, p. 477) society is established; a society that can only be presumed to be innocent.

The hegemony rests on a clear oppositional dichotomy between East and West that was created prior to that statement and is asserted in the very moment that the West is posited as affluent, colorful and free. Though it is not overtly stated, the L2 textbook user has little choice but to assume in his/her ignorance or have validated his/her prior notions that the East German must be poor, grey, inhibited, and Eastern. While not overtly stated, this “statement” of sorts by the creator of the culture box finds immediate substantiation in studies on name-calling and negative labels toward East Germans by West Germans after reunification.

In repeated sociolinguistic studies, such name-calling and negative labels prove to be both well-known and widespread among inhabitants of the newly colonized German states. Moving from Berlin to the countryside, East German respondents in one particular study (Reiher, 1996) were asked to give examples of Western name calling. Greifswald university students from Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the most rural and least densely populated of the New German States, gave the following: Zonendoedel (dorks of the formerly occupied zone), Doofe der Nation (the nation’s idiots), rote Socken (red socks), Kommunisten (communists) and STASI (GDR State Secret Police) (p. 37).

At the same time, East Germans in this newly created colonial contact zone seemed to be engaged in a type of “autoethnographic expression” (Pratt, 1992, p. 7) in which they demean themselves according to West German standards. In a Berlin survey, West Berlin respondents gave the following adjectives to describe East Berliners: provincial, inflexible, helpless, dependent, depressing, naive, dumb, boring, backwards, socially misfit, and poor. In the same study, the East Berliners described *themselves* as: dumb, backwards, lazy, poor Easterner, a loser type who is constantly needing to learn things and who gets taken advantage of politically (Reiher, 1996, p. 36, my translation).

The culture box discourse created in which the West German consciousness is systematically elevated while the East German becomes marginalized and “intentionally subjected to eventual distinction” (Mushaben, quoted in Canning, 1997, p. 2) not only feeds the hegemony of the majority by relegating the East German to passivity and implications of negative character traits, but it also takes advantage of the assumed consent of the minority (Gramsci, 1992) to create and/or substantiate an imagined community of people with said traits in the mind of the L2 German learner.

### ***Ethnic Minorities, Food, and C2***

The economic contribution of foreigners is also heavily thematized as part of German culture since, according to *Deutsch heute*, they “are an important factor in the German economy” (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 416) and “contribute to the country’s economic growth.” However, a culture tip in *Deutsch: Na klar!* informs us that “incidents of discrimination and even violence against foreigners have occurred, especially following the economic difficulties in the wake of the unification of Germany in 1990”

(DiDonato et al., 2000, p. 47). But the Germans are not completely unfriendly to the foreigners. In fact, “a study about eating habits shows that the Germans are particularly friendly around the cooking pot” (Terrell et al., 2000, p. 279, my translation).

This may be because foreigners continue to contribute to another consuming passion of the culture box - food. Both ethnic and traditional regional foods are thematized individually at least once and very often several times in six of the eight textbooks surveyed, so much so that one might think that being German revolves around the consumption of food. The reader will recall from the literature review that this is certainly well in line with a majority of portrayals in L2 German textbooks from World War II through the 1980s, when the last major survey was taken. Given *Vorsprung's* assertion that “cultures are often defined by their cuisines” (Lovik et al., 2001, p. 84), this does not seem unfounded.

The biological/cultural ritual of eating in the German speaking countries has been altered by contact with and influence of the Other, and this theme is very much well and alive in the culture box proper. It follows that information about the influence of ethnic food on the eating habits in the German speaking realm would seem so basic that its isolation in the culture box appears to be natural, innocuous, and even expected. However, this kind of information serves to underscore Radtke's (1991) general thesis regarding the manner in which minority cultures are included and represented in classroom materials. In his view, their inclusion represents a kind of culinary-cynical multiculturalism that at first glance points out and promotes appreciation for the art, music and cuisine of other cultures. However, he argues that such inclusions only serve to



highlight the exotic properties of Otherness without posing any challenge to the dominant culture, in turn merely diverting attention away from more systematic processes in the politics of representation.

However, these materials do tend to favor the portrayal of the challenge, at least on a culinary level, that the Other poses to traditional German cuisine. News report materials chosen for a food culture box in *Kontakte* point to the possibility that “the Germans apparently only still serve cabbage, pork medallions and pig’s trotters at folk festivals and for tourists - turning instead to Greek feta, curry and couscous. And they can no longer live without pasta” (Terrell et al., 2000, p. 279, my translation), liking “Turkish Pita and Greek Gyros almost as much as pizza, spaghetti and [McDonald’s] hamburgers” (p. 407, my translation). So much, in fact, that according to *Treffpunkt Deutsch* “nowadays a town without a Kebab stand is unthinkable” (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 74). Whether these isolated examples are capable of reinforcing or disproving Radtke’s (1991) general claims about culinary-cynical multiculturalism and the politics of challenge to the dominant culture is difficult to say. Perhaps in its fundamentality to human existence, food as culture will indeed prove to be the barometer for change in either direction.

### ***Family Policy and the Reproduction of C2***

Another form of multi-culturalism that Radtke (1991) observed in L2 German culture materials was what he termed a demographic instrumental multiculturalism that serves to argue for immigration as one possible solution to the economic collapse made inevitable by a low German birthrate. While this is not thematized directly in relation to

foreign workers in Germany in this corpus of materials, the economic incentives to ward off such an economic collapse, and by extension a collapse in German identity, are thematized repeatedly in the culture box under the heading of family policy. The German family is the core site of production and reproduction of not only German culture, but Germans themselves and thus is a potentially highly charged site for identity representation. Thus the marked category of the German mother in the culture box.

Whether the emphasis on the financial incentives for childbearing and the repeated inclusion of the protected status of maternity in the culture box exist because they are so different from that which U.S. L2 German learners are accustomed to from their C1, or whether this category highlights what might be considered a modern preoccupation with genetic reproduction that has been the root of German identity crisis since the Enlightenment is difficult to say. However, it is interesting to note that the economic and identity concerns that have been outlined in the preceding categories of the culture box are not without context, history or plausible foundation.

Returning to the theories of a German need for superiority within the European realm due to its perceived inferiority as a colonizer, a preoccupation with racial reproduction bolstered the German "Heimatschutz" (protection of state/home/territory) movement designed to "create a Bund of like-minded people throughout Germany whose goal is to maintain an undamaged and untainted German race" (Koshar, 1996, p. 113). The subsequent call for the preservation of "Mendel Laws" and the avoidance of miscegenation based on the claim that "the human genealogical line takes 300 years to cleanse itself of a single mixture of alien blood" (Campt, Grosse, & de Faria, 1998, p.

213) was designed to weed difference out of things German and create a racial norm for Germanness.

A culture box in *Deutsch: Na klar!* directly and within the context of the presence of chapter material on the marked category of the German Mother thematizes the pinnacle of such thinking during the Hitler-era by casually informing L2 learners in a “culture tip” that, “birth control, abortions and sterilization were against the law for ‘arian’ women, however, for other women who did not conform to the norm, there was forced sterilization” (DiDonato et al., 2000, p. 435). Although this is an extreme example of this genre of information found on this matter in the culture box, it is interesting to note that family policy is thematized, sometimes multiple times, in five of the eight texts analyzed.

For the most part, the specimen of the childbearing German Mother in the culture box is portrayed as the rightful receiver of a host of economic incentives including Mutterschaftsgeld (full amount of previous pay), Mutterschaftsvorsorge (all prenatal care and delivery expenses are covered), Gefahrenschutz (protection from undertaking dangerous tasks that would harm her or her child), Kündigungsschutz (protection from being fired during pregnancy or in the four months following delivery or eight months if maternity leave is involved), Beschäftigungsverbot (protection from working six weeks before delivery and eight weeks after - twelve if premature or multiple births are involved), and Mutterschaftsurlaub (maternity leave at reduced salary for up to four months after the eight to twelve weeks previously described) (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, p. 484).

These family friendly policies and economic incentives for reproduction are posited in *Treffpunkt Deutsch* as a governmental response to a nation where “nine million out of twenty-seven million marriages are childless, and the number of marriages with only one or two children is increasing steadily” (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 86). In addition to the status and economic protection of maternity, parenting is also portrayed in *Deutsch heute* as a bundle of economic incentives including Erziehungsurlaub (child-rearing leaves of absence), Kindergeld (stipends for each child until the age of 18 or even 27 in certain cases), and Erziehungsgeld (stipends for parents for a period of two years per child). It is also noted in these materials that “many single mothers receive financial aid” (Moeller et. al., 2000, p. 288). On a more comical and probably coincidental note, the “People” box representing culture in *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999) highlights a Swiss individual, an Austrian individual and a German family to illustrate the cultural differences of these political German-speaking realms.

### ***German “Denker und Dichter” (Thinkers and Writers) as C2***

The idea that individuals can represent the entirety of culture seems to be implicit in the German textbook culture box, for portraits of people constitute the numerical bulk of the culture box contents across the eight texts examined. As the portrait in a museum is revered and representative as a creation of art, so too do those portrayed in the culture box seem revered as creators/creations of nationhood. A total of 38 different people are portrayed in the corpus as representatives of German culture anywhere from one to three total times in the set of eight books. The Grimm Brothers were the most cited across the

corpus (3), followed by architects Friedrich Hundertwasser and Walther Gropius (2 times each) and literary authors Ingeborg Bachmann and Bertold Brecht (2 times each).

Other better known figures constituting the culture box include the pedagogue Wilhelm von Humboldt, sociologist Hannah Arendt, musicians Clara Schumann and Anne Sophie-Mutter, and a variety of controversial post-war authors such as Ingeborg Bachmann, Wolfgang Borchert, Heinrich Böll, Hermann Hesse, Günther Grass, Wolf Biermann, and Christa Wolf to name a few. It is surprising to note that the old standbys Goethe and Schiller only appeared in the culture box proper of *Wie geht's?*, melded together into a singular conceptual entity, indicating a shift away from the revered classical literary figure as the embodiment of things cultured in the German realm.

Although literary figures still constitute a visible and substantial portion of this particular category of culture box contents, there is a notable shift away from the unchallenged culture as literature paradigm that rested primarily on the canonical works of Goethe, Schiller and Heine highly prevalent in the Reading Approach of the late nineteenth century and continued well into at least the 1970s as Beitter's (1983) review of post World War II textbooks substantiated. While this shift into a more diversified view of said paradigm certainly aligns itself on many levels with changing emphases in culture teaching (more inclusive of "little c" concerns, for example), much of it may be attributable in part to the influence that interdisciplinarity in general and German Cultural Studies specifically has had on the perception of literature teaching and the purpose of basic language instruction.

Based on concerns about declining enrollments and the realization that strict disciplinarity in part contributes to such numbers (Van Cleve & Willson, 1993), a call for reform in the field of Germanistik/German Cultural Studies began to unfold, reaching a theoretical highpoint in the Spring 1989 issue of *The German Quarterly*. This volume was dedicated exclusively to a scholarly exchange focusing on “the complexity of situating the new field and [its] position in relation to [a] traditional paradigm” (Peck, 1989, p. 141). Suggested approaches to transforming the field included methodological and pedagogical paradigms based on feminist theory (Lennox, 1989), cultural anthropology (Peck, 1989), New Historicism (Kaes, 1989), and psychological categories (Gilman, 1989). All such approaches reject the assumption that high canonical literature constitutes culture. Rather, they view literature as one of many smaller products and results of the inherent intersection between culture and language.

As far as the basic language textbook is concerned in this debate, recall that in the traditional discipline of Germanistik, basic language was viewed as a tool for accessing the cultural treasures of the classical literary masters in the original. However, the goals and theories of the study of “things German” from a cultural studies perspective must necessarily result in a change in perception of basic language, for it now seems more prudent to view basic language instruction from an anthropological perspective of providing access to a wide variety of products and practices, as was indicated in both ACTFL guidelines and the more recent 5C guidelines for the teaching of culture. It is not surprising to note then, that this newest generation of diverse and not exclusively literary people that constitute the language book culture box came about immediately after the

discipline made a shift away from traditional Germanistik and towards modern cultural studies.

Specific to Goethe and Schiller themselves as harbingers of culture proper, one notes that the diversity of the culture box also parallels the growing divergence in German Departments away from the “Age of Goethe [as representative of] the ‘classical’ German culture [that] appeared ideologically innocent enough to justify the retention of a German language that otherwise had become politically suspect” (Seeba, 1989, p. 146). Many younger faculty in German Studies Departments deplore the old standbys as a “refuge for emigrants” (p. 148) who found escape from the political realities of the German speaking realm in U.S. American departments of German Literature. The sheer number of different people represented in the culture box is very much in line with an overall cry to diversify undergraduate German curricula and to create a more marketable focus on “contemporary German affairs, cultural influences on political and social development, and effective teaching techniques” (Janes & Scher, 1987, p. 13) that appeal to both undergraduates and a younger generation of German scholars.

### **The New Dwellers of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Culture Box**

The categories represented in this analysis so far are roughly parallel to those that have found their way into the culture box since World War II. However, the new categories that have made their appearance since roughly the 1990s include an emphasis on politics and history that was previously lacking; linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics; and, most importantly, citizenship. This kind of diversity seems geared toward appealing to the new generation of those who want to study things German. While

portrayals of historical and modern individuals and also geographic concerns constitute the most numeric instances of appearance in the total corpus of materials in the culture box, it was the concept of citizenship and the issues of German immigration and foreigners that had the most consistent showing across the eight books analyzed. In other words, some texts rely heavily on individual portrayals of people or cities as constitutive of the culture box, but there is little repetition of those people or cities within or across the texts, with some notable exceptions that were demonstrated and commented upon earlier in the chapter.

However, the concept of citizenship and its related concerns with immigration and foreigners in the German speaking realm is the most thematicized individual concept across the corpus, showing up as a specific, commented entity unto itself in seven of the eight books analyzed. This means the chances that an individual L2 German learner (presumably using one textbook during his/her basic language experience) will encounter culture box information on the German immigrant are higher in this instance than with any other specific topic, person, place, or theme found in the culture box. While the notion of literature = culture = Germanness is still alive and healthy in the latest L2 German textbooks, it is beginning to be surpassed by the culture box portrayal of an Other against which or through which Germanness and German culture is defined.

Whereas the Goethe-Schiller-Heine culture box of the late 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> century post-war era represented a manifestation of a generation of emigree textbook writers who, having escaped their own experiences in pre-war Germany, looked to create “refuge for emigrants” (Seeba, 1989, p. 146) seeking balm for the rupture of German



national identity, the 21<sup>st</sup> century culture box with its genesis in roughly the late 1990s is beginning in some textbooks to reflect more of what seems at first glance to be a refuge for *immigrants*. The insistence of the classical literature = culture = German national identity trichotomy in the decades following World War II seems to have found its turn of the century equivalent in the insistence of an “Other” = culture = German national identity trichotomy.

With this new emerging category comes the process of negotiation of L2 textbook norms for said category. Based on the evolution of classificatory information found in the processes behind the colonial census, a considerable amount of flux in representations of information and people in this modern culture box category can be expected.

‘Identity categories’ of successive censuses from the late nineteenth century up to the recent present show an extraordinarily rapid, superficially arbitrary, series of changes, in which categories are continuously agglomerated, disaggregated, recombined, intermixed, and reordered (but the politically powerful identity categories always lead the list). (Anderson, 1991, p. 164)

As the leader of sorts on the “list” of topics brought up in the textbook culture box data corpus, the Other can indeed be viewed as an emerging, politically powerful force in the realm of German culture and by extension, identity. That these new site categories have the potential for increasingly racist identity representations is almost inevitable, for “as the colonial period wore on, the census categories became more visibly and exclusively racial” (p. 164).

The census categories of the current culture box often rely on individual, personal portrayals of ethnic and linguistic minorities in both first and third person - particularly in *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999) - to comment on the citizenship

situation in Germany. These particular individual portrayals were not counted in the total people/portraits numbers, nor do they contribute directly to the assertion that this is the most thematicized concept across the texts. The cases in which individual person portrayals constitute citizenship and cultural identity thematicization will be analyzed separately in Chapter 4, as these narratives take the historically influenced, shared codes of cultural meaning derived from the Peircian process of signification and transfer them into a Barthesian second order sign system of connotative codes that eventually find their way into third order discursive metaphor about the Other.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**NOT JUST TELLING STORIES:**  
**MYTH, CONNOTATION, NARRATIVE, AND INDEXICALITY**  
**AS CULTURED PUBLIC DISCOURSE**

Sociolinguists have shown some properties of discourses to be both based on discrimination and to be a site for the reproduction of racism (Hill, 1995). This chapter will focus specifically on the Barthesian second order system employment of myth and denotation/connotation as it intersects with the Peircian concepts of second order sign systems including indexicality and argument building via narrative discourse in the portrayals of individual people in culture box texts. This will serve to illustrate how narratives about inhabitants of the culture box are racist in nature, both drawing from and adding to a public discourse about the inferiority of the exotic Other in the marked space of the textbook language learning topography. It is at this level that “ideology . . . in the form of the signifieds of connotation” (Barthes, 1964, p. 92) becomes apparent.

As was noted in Chapter 3, the portrayal of “individual as culture” constitutes the most numerous kind of information represented in the total corpus of culture box materials. The three portrayals chosen for analysis in this chapter differ from those biographical sketches in that they display narrative properties which go beyond a mere listing of biographical information. Prototypical narrative exists in the past tense and presents a chronological accounting of events. Of the three texts analyzed in this chapter, one text is non-prototypically narrative due the employment of present vs. past tense.

However, this is a qualifying present tense in that relationships between ideas are still chronological. It is also important to note that early placement in the textbook itself grammatically precludes use of the past tense due to learner skill at that point in the text. Furthermore, each analyzed text displays causal relationships and argumentative structures beyond mere entertainment or biological information giving that lend it the characteristics of an ideological, myth-driven, narrated story.

This type of argumentative-narrative, conflict category-assimilative solution storytelling that relies in part on myths and indexicals to create a discourse of assimilation or elimination is highlighted in three culture boxes in particular in which an individual person representing the Volga German, the East German, and the Turkish German is portrayed, twice via first person self-narrative and once in the third person. Narration is a key tool in creating a believable discourse about and by the Other, as it is essentially a way of representing past experience, whether real or imagined. As an extension of the argument made in previous chapters that the nation-state is imagined, so too are the experiences of representative “Others” that live within the topographical borders of the culture box. By extension of the culture box as museum metaphor, “the story is distinguished by the fact that it is an utterance type used when one is recapitulating experience for display purposes, rather than for simple information-giving purposes” (Traugott & Pratt, 1980, p. 250).

In their unexamined state, textbook narratives about the Other seem to serve information-giving functions via fictional accounts about made-up individuals. However, closer examination reveals that the identities and activities of those portrayed falsely

position those individuals as plausible extensions and substantiations of a dominant, racist cultural viewpoint. Furthermore, this type of recapitulation of experience for display is shown to rely, via indexicals, on “signals produced with a deliberate intention of inviting an receptor to ‘infer’ messages from them . . . an *intention*, something in the nature of *what the sender wants to achieve* through emitting the signal” (Prieto in Hervey, 1982, p. 74).

The reader will recall that Van Dijk’s (1997) analysis of stories and racism revealed that racism is produced and analyzable in the secondary narrative that occurs alongside the primary one in the telling of a story. While the primary narrative entertains, the second-order story complains, accuses, and argues (p. 129) by departing from the traditional discourse structure found in narrative in which the conflict category is resolved to one in which the conflict category is not ever solved. In Chapter 2, I extended this argument to include an ideological narrative in which the problem category is solved only by eliminating the conflict category through replacement with majority norms or assimilation. The signals sent in these argumentative narratives seek to achieve a relationship of contiguity between problematicity of foreigners and solvability through desirable actions that appear to be more “(West) German.”

This second order process of connotation/myth relies heavily on indexicals, also a state of secondness in Peircian theory. Indexicality in its most basic terms refers to contextual relationships and organization of information which is created by and through language. It is an approach to language concerned with

. . . explicating more precisely how language form and content signal sociocultural dimensions of specific communicative events [and] account[ing] for how the sociolinguistic organization of these specific communicative events in turn interfaces with more general systems of social order and cultural knowledge. (Ochs, 1990, p. 291)

Early definitions of indexicality concerned themselves with the connection between a sign and what is signified so that the presence of the sign could imply the existence of the signified even when it is not present. This can occur “through single indexes or the collocation of indexes, either directly or indirectly, and either retrospectively, prospectively, or immediately” (pp. 304-305). The index acts chiefly by a factual, existential contiguity between its signans and signatum, and “psychologically, the action of indices depends on association by contiguity” (Jakobson in Waugh & Monville-Burston, 1990, p. 409).

Perhaps one of the best recent examples of how indexicality operates in creating and sustaining racist discourses is Hill’s (1995) work on Mock Spanish in the Southwest. She refers to Mock Spanish as a “site for the indexical reproduction of racism in American English.” Here, Ochs’ (1990) distinction between direct and indirect indexicality is used as a primary springboard into an argument for the concept of “dual indexicality.” According to Hill (1995), direct indexicality is “visible to the discursive consciousness” (p. 2), generally acknowledged and is often thought of as being warm, funny or savvy. Indirect indexicality is the more subtle and often denied process of assigning meaning to the signified and is the process by which she argues in her research that “Spanish-speaking populations . . . are endowed with gross sexual appetites, political corruption, laziness, disorders of language, and mental incapacity . . . restrict[ing]

Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans largely to the lowest sectors of the regional and national economies” (p. 2). This same process can be found at work in regard to the Other in the German speaking realm.

Hill’s (1995) arguments for a type of “dual indexicality” indicate a process that grows beyond the original distinction and categorizes indices on a dichotomous scale to a point at “which desirable qualities are assigned to Anglos, and undesirable qualities are assigned to members of historically Spanish-speaking populations” (p. 3). These indexes are understood both by the majority and the minority, as Hill illustrates with a scene in the popular movie *Terminator 2: Judgment Day*, in which the good, heroic main character (played by Arnold Schwarzenegger) alternates use of “Adios” for getting rid of evil characters and “Goodbye” when the time comes to leave himself. Hill demonstrates that this juxtaposition of English/good and Spanish/bad can only be understood within the context of dual indexicality, as direct indexicals would only allude to humor and knowledge of Spanish (p. 5), whereas dual indexicals explain the juxtaposition of Spanish and English within the context of the polarities alluded to in the film.

The values, norms, and emotions that are connotated in an indexical begin to take on the properties of a dual indexical via culture, the mediator of *shared* values, norms, and emotions. Stories are a primary means of culturally-mediated information sharing. Cognitively, as expressions of episodic models, stories are both the retelling and the simultaneous interpretation of an event. Socioculturally, stories function as reproducers of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies and norms/values of a group or of society and can be illuminated by semiotic processes. “By treating ‘collective representations’ as

sign-systems, one might hope to go further than the pious show of unmasking them and account *in detail* for the mystification which transforms petit-bourgeois culture into a universal nature” (Barthes, 1957, p. 9).

Though the experiences of representative “Others” that live within the topographical borders of the culture box can be imagined just as a nation state can, the Barthesian reality points to the petit-bourgeois as “a man unable to imagine the Other. If he comes face to face with him, he blinds himself, ignores and denies him, or else he transforms him into himself” (Barthes, 1957, p. 151). This analysis will demonstrate how an Ethnic German, an East German and a Turkish German are transformed into vehicles for the substantiation of normative, West German, petit-bourgeois myths in the culture box. Furthermore, it is noted that the less like the petit-bourgeois the imagined Other is, the more intricate the narrative and indexical structures become in order to “accommodate,” i.e. assimilate or destroy it, and the more linguistic tools must be used to construct the Other fittingly. The case study analyses and their corresponding mythical constructs contained in this chapter are: Ethnic German Ida Jobe and *The Lost Continent*; East Germans Ulrike and Matthias Sperber and “Operation Margarine”; and finally, Turkish German Fatma Yützel and “The Great Family of Man.”

### **Ethnic German Ida Jobe and *The Lost Continent***

The following text (my translation) comprises the “People” subsection of the culture information in Chapter 9 of *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999) and represents an argumentative narrative on Ethnic Germans and emigration back to German soil as the solution to both their own and West German public problems. The



narrative is considered argumentative because unlike traditional Labovian narrative which exists merely to entertain, this text evaluates the situation and sets up problematic conflict categories that either remain unsolved or are solved via the norms of the majority, making it ideological as well. The text appears with a somewhat frumpy frontal photo of Ida Jobe (see Figure 4.1), the subject (object) of the text, depicting her in an ill-fitting dress and outdated, oversized plastic glasses.



“Ida Jobe” Widmaier and Widmaier. *Treffpunkt Deutsch*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. © 1999 by Prentice Hall. Used with permission.

*Figure 4.1.* Ida Jobe - Volga German.

The original German text can be found in Appendix A-1. The translated text reads as follows:

*Ida Jobe: An ethnic German from Kazakhstan tells about culture shock after arriving in Germany.*

In 1763 the Russian Czaress Catherine II invited German colonists to Russia. That’s how my ancestors ended up in the Ukraine, where they lived for almost 200 years in a village that had a German school and a German church. But under Stalin, they, like all other farmers lost their land and were forced to work on a collective farm. Their children were required to go to Russian schools and soon were no longer able to speak German.

In 1941, the German army marched into the Soviet Union and my grandparents hoped to get their land and their schools back again. But Germany lost the war in 1945 and the Soviets relocated us Germans to the far East. For that

reason, I was not born in the Ukraine, rather, in the Soviet Republic of Kazakstan. There, I studied to become a math teacher. However, we never forgot that we were Germans and we tried over and over again after 1978 to be granted permission to emigrate to Germany. When we were finally allowed to emigrate in 1985, we were very happy.

It wasn't easy for us to learn German here in Germany and to live for a long while in camps until we finally were able to find jobs and an apartment. The biggest problem for us was that Germany in our minds was still the country that our ancestors had left behind over 200 years ago; a country in which people went to church on Sundays, and in which they sang folk songs, wore traditional costumes and danced on holidays. For this reason, modern Germany was a shock for us; a highly industrialized country where the churches are often empty, where young people go to rock concerts and discos, and where drugs and AIDS cause us to fear for our children.

I began to study once again in 1986 and have been a teacher in a vocational school in Ulm since 1990. Many of my pupils are children of foreigners and I often understand their problems much better than my German-born colleagues who were raised in Germany. (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, pp. 322-323, my translation)

Narratively, this story of sorts can be broken down into the following pattern based on Van Dijk's (1997) work with argumentative narratives.

The setting for this narrative is 18<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> century Europe in the countries of Russia, the former Soviet Union, and Germany. The orientation that the reader receives is that in 1793, Russian Czarina Catherine the Great invited German colonists to the Ukraine in Russia, where they lived for 200 years in German-speaking communities with German schools and churches. The pattern of conflict categories and related resolution categories starts here and is illustrated in Table 4.1.

While there is really no identifiable climax category, as is characteristic of traditional narratives told for the purpose of entertainment, this argumentative/ideological narrative follows a relatively straightforward and flat pattern of complication and resolution based mostly on historical facts and grounded in the maintenance of and

Table 4.1

*Resolution/Conflict Categories in Ida Jobe's Argumentative Narrative*


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<b>Complication:</b> Under Stalin, the German colonists lost their land and were forced to work on collectives.	<b>Resolution:</b> We never forgot that we were Germans and from 1978 on, we tried repeatedly to obtain permission to emigrate to Germany and were very happy when it was granted in 1985.
<b>Complication:</b> Their children were forced to go to Russian schools and soon lost the ability to speak German.	
<b>Complication:</b> The Germans lost the war in 1945 and the colonists were relocated to the Far East of the Soviet Union.	
<b>Complication:</b> I was born, raised and educated in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan (not the Ukraine or Germany).	
<b>Complication:</b> It wasn't easy to learn German in Germany.	(No direct resolution.)
<b>Complication:</b> We had to live in resettlement communities for a long time.	<b>Resolution:</b> We found jobs and an apartment.
<b>Complication:</b> Modern, industrialized Germany was a shock.	<b>Resolution:</b> In 1986 I started retraining and became a vocational school teacher in 1990.
<b>Complication:</b> Many pupils are the children of foreigners.	<b>Resolution:</b> I understand their problems better than my German-born colleagues.

---

assimilation to (West) Germanness. Though Stalin's ethnic and linguistic policies deprived the Volga Germans of their land and language, the resolution is found in the fact that these Germans held on to their identity by never forgetting that they were Germans and tried repeatedly to relocate to German soil proper.

When this happens, another conflict category is introduced in that there is a waiting period for housing and employment, straightforwardly resolved when apartments and jobs are found. A related conflict category is introduced during the initial period of culture shock for these newly arrived Volga Germans, whose pre-war influenced, stylized vision of church-going, folk song-singing, Tracht-wearing Germany both parallels the stereotypes that Beitter's (1983) U.S. American students listed about Germans, as well as conflicts with the reality of "a highly industrialized country where the churches are often empty, where young people go to rock concerts and discos, and where drugs and AIDS cause us to fear for our children" (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 323).

However, these conflicts are resolved by going back to school to be retrained for a teaching position that, when obtained, offers a solution to the additional conflict-laden societal complication category of foreign children attending German schools. Ida's background and experiences as a German person proper who was born on and lived on foreign soil before coming back to the land of her ethnicity provides a bridge in that she often understands the foreign students' problems better than her German-born colleagues. The second order narrative posits Ida's assimilation as a relatively straightforward reschooling that, despite difficulties, offers a positive contribution to German society via ethnic and cultural bridgework.

Though evaluation and conclusion categories are not directly offered in the narrative, the process of bringing up conflict categories and then solving them in the manner that this particular narrative does is likely to lead the average textbook user to make the following evaluation and conclusion: (1) even though there were difficulties,

things turned out OK for this particular Ethnic German (and by extension others as well) in the land of her ancestry, and (2) having the Ethnic Germans back home is a positive thing for both the Ethnic Germans themselves, who were very happy to emigrate, and for society as a whole in that they can help contribute to bridging the gap between the Other and the German proper, as evidenced by Ida Jobe's ability to understand and help foreign students in the school setting.

Despite all of the positive resolutions to conflict categories in this narrative, however, it is interesting to note that one conflict category is left unresolved in the narrative structure of the story. The difficulty of learning to speak German in Germany is introduced after Ida Jobe returns to the homeland of her forefathers and is the next conflict category to arise after the resolution that they never forgot they were Germans and before the conflict/resolution categories revolving around jobs and housing. This leaves the conflict category of difficulty learning German somewhat straddling a narrative line between never having forgotten her ethnicity while in Kazakhstan and obtaining necessities for life in Germany.

The difficulty of learning German seems somewhat absorbed by the resolve to remember and identify with her Germanness on expatriate soil. While the reader can infer that this barrier was indeed eventually overcome by the fact that Ida was able to be admitted to, complete, and utilize a teaching degree in Germany proper, its explicit resolve does not seem to find an important place in the secondary narrative of assimilation. Although this may be attributed to any number of reasons on the part of the authors, I propose that, as in all other significative processes, this text constitutes a

collective representative sign-system based on Barthesian elements of mystification and that the subject (object) of the text is authored in a manner that feeds a needs for exotic German colonial fantasy and bourgeois extinction of the Other.

Barthes (1957) demonstrates the nature of exoticism and the relationship of the Orient and the Occident in his commentary on *The Lost Continent*, in which a film about a European expedition into the Malay Archipelago is shown to highlight “the basic unity of idealism” (p. 94) by glossing over details of difference as an “assimilative technique” (p. 95). In his commentary on the specific content of the film, Barthes states

In the seventeenth century, in this same Orient whose Christian predispositions are shown to us by *The Lost Continent*, the Jesuits went very far towards the oecumenicity of forms. . . . It is this same ‘*all things are alike*’ which is hinted at by our Ethnographers: East and West, it is all the same, they are only different in hue, their essential core is identical, and that is the eternal postulation of man towards God, the paltry and contingent character of geographical considerations compared to this human nature of which Christianity alone holds the key. (p. 95)

Similarly, Ida Jobe is different from other Germans proper only in hue. Her essential core - her blood - is identical to theirs despite its unfortunate sojourn in a twist of geography and history, and this greater over-arching Germanness is enough, despite unresolved language problems, to overcome that.

All told, exoticism here shows well its fundamental justification, which is to deny any identification by History. By appending to Eastern realities a few positive signs which mean ‘native’, one reliably immunizes them against any responsible content. A little ‘situating’, as superficial as possible, supplies the necessary alibi and exempts one from accounting for the situation in depth. (Barthes, 1957, p. 96)

The non-solution of conflict categories in this particular text serves to gloss over historical-geographical realities as they affect use of the German language, thematizing similarity over difference where it is desirable to do so to preserve the integrity of

historical German identity factors regarding the Ethnic German Other. However, further analysis shows that this is not the case with the East German Other, as non-solution of resolution categories is combined with dual indexicals to create a superior/inferior German identity dichotomy.

***East Germans Ulrike and Matthias Sperber and “Operation Margarine”***

This next text (my translation) comprises the “People” subsection of the culture information in Chapter 11 of *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999) and represents an argumentative/ideological narrative on East Germans and the solving of their problems by West German norms. It appears with two photos: one of Ulrike and Matthias Sperber, the subjects (objects) of the text, professionally dressed at their dental practice and one of a Trabant automobile that appears to have a flat tire (see Figure 4.2).



	
<p>“Ulrike and Matthias Sperber” Widmaier and Widmaier. <i>Treffpunkt Deutsch</i>. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. ©1999 by Prentice Hall. Used with permission.</p>	<p>A Trabant – Widmaier and Widmaier. <i>Treffpunkt Deutsch</i>. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. ©1999 by Prentice Hall. Used with permission.</p>

Figure 4.2. Ulrike and Matthias Sperber at work and with their Trabant.

The original German can be found in Appendix A-2. The translation reads as follows:

*Ulrike and Matthias Sperber: A life in two worlds*

Dentists Ulrike and Matthias Sperber were both born in the former GDR, got to know each other as students and married right after graduation. Because the East German state paid for the tuition and even the living expenses of students,

their education cost them hardly anything. After their training, they, like all dentists in the GDR, worked in a state owned dental clinic. They each earned 900 Marks a month whether they treated many or few patients. Their apartment in one of the large and so typically GDR high-rises was tiny and primitive compared to Western standards, but they only paid 60 Marks a month for it. After waiting for 15 years, they were finally able to get a Trabant, the tiny standard automobile for the GDR. With it, they drove to the Baltic Sea, Czechoslovakia [sic], Hungary or Bulgaria on vacation. Trips to the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] and other western countries were forbidden. It was a modest life, especially compared to that which they got to see on a daily basis in West German television programs. But because neither one of them openly criticized the East German state, it was also a stress- and risk-free life.

After the reunification in 1990, East German dentistry was privatized and Ulrike and Matthias had to rent space for their own practice, renovate it and fit it with the most modern technology in dental equipment. To do this, they needed a loan of over 300,000 Marks and as many patients as possible in order to be able to pay back this loan. Because they had never learned capitalistic thinking, it was a big shock to them and Matthias especially suffered from anxiety and depression.

Since then, they have both become accustomed to Western thinking. Now they work a lot more and their lives are often somewhat stressful, but more interesting. They earn a lot more, they drive a VW Passat and they have even owned their own single-family home for a few years. Now they drive to Western Europe on vacation or even fly to the United States, and like most of the citizens of the former GDR, they are very happy that Germany is one country once again. (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, pp. 392-393, my translation)

Following van Dijk's (1997) breakdown of argumentative narrative, the discourse pattern of this text takes on a kind of double story - before and after reunification. The setting of the "before" story is East Germany between 1949-1989. The orientation that the reader is given is that dentists Ulrike and Matthias Sperber were born, educated and married in the German Democratic Republic. After receiving an education which cost them next to nothing, they, like all other dentists, were employed by the government in a clinic, where they both earned 900 Marks a month regardless of how many patients they treated. The argumentative narrative pattern between conflict and resolution categories begins at this point and is outlined in Table 4.2.



Table 4.2

*Conflict/Resolution Categories in Ulrike and Matthias Sperbers'**Pre-Unification Narrative*


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<b>Complication :</b> Their lives, including their apartment and automobile were modest compared to Western standards.	<b>Resolution:</b> East Germans did not pay much for their possessions.
<b>Complication:</b> Travel in the West was not allowed.	<b>Resolution:</b> They could drive to other Eastern countries for their vacation.
<b>Complication:</b> Stress and risk were associated with public criticism of the system.	<b>Resolution:</b> The Sperber's lives were stress and risk free because they did not criticize the government.
<b>Complication:</b> They saw better things daily on television.	(This complication category remains unresolved in the first part of the narrative).

---

While this narration seems to point to potential a narrative climax in the stress and risk that could result if the East German government were to be criticized publically, this is immediately neutralized by the fact that the Sperbers were not involved in such activities. The argumentative aspects of this narrative merely bring up a series of complication categories revolving around the limitations and frustrations of life as an East German citizen. The argumentative element then, with the exception of one conflict - the fact that the Sperbers saw a better lifestyle on television - solves these categories by pointing out concessions to the reality of this particular living context and how they are commensurate with what was invested in this lifestyle in the first place.

In portraying East Germans in what almost seems like a welfare state, poor living conditions are highlighted but immediately dismissed or even justified. Because it is pointed out that education was of no cost, it stands to reason that low wages are earned. While their possessions are modest, the parallel is pointed out that they were also inexpensive. For example, the tiny and primitive apartment costs only 60 Marks per month. It seems justified by the old capitalistic adage you get what you pay for. Though not in the reading text for students, this idea is reinforced and rejustified by the following information given in the teacher annotations that are placed (in English) to the side of the German text in the Teacher's Annotated Edition.

Instead of renovating existing structures in the cities after World War II, the state built thousands of apartments on the outskirts of towns. These structures were made of precast concrete slabs and all had a uniform, dreary style. Heat was piped from a central heating system sometimes kilometers away via poorly insulated pipes to these Wohnsilos, as they were often called. There was no way of controlling the temperature in the apartments. If it was too hot, people just opened the windows. (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 392)

From this information and the non-resolution of the conflict category of continually seeing a better life on television, the reader is likely to make the evaluations and conclusions from the first part of the narrative that East German life was inferior, but it was cheap and easy if one followed the rules.

Another likely inference grows from the non-resolution of the fact that East Germans were continuously exposed to a better life on television. In choosing not to resolve this category, the first part of the narrative can easily lead the textbook user to believe that such a lifestyle could not be obtained in the Eastern context, rather, through a

purely Western one. Again, it is only in the teacher annotations and not in the student text that the complexity and problematicity of television situation is clarified.

In the early years after the Wall was built, the East German government tried to prevent its citizens from watching Western TV programs. But the West German states along the border, like Bavaria and Hessen, sent such strong signals to the East that their programs could easily be received. It soon became impossible to control what people were watching. (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 393)

Leaving the complication category of daily exposure to unobtainable material goods open also serves as a segue into the second part of the narrative, beginning with the reunification events of 1990, which serves as the setting of the story. By way of orientation, the reader is informed that all government entities, including dental clinics, were at this point in time privatized. The conflict/resolution category pattern that follows is illustrated in Table 4.3.

In the narration of life in post-unification Germany, the conflict categories center around the inability of these two characters to master the emotional/financial challenges of a new economic political system. Interestingly, though, the resolution categories do not necessarily solve the conflict categories directly. There is a split in the resolutions offered. The emotional complications are solved by resolution norms of harder work and a more interesting life. Yet some of the resolution categories clearly refer back to the unresolved complication of the first part of the narrative in which the goods and services of the better lifestyle found on television could not be obtained. However, all of the resolution categories found in the second half of the narrative center on the idea that what was thought of as impossible, unobtainable or undesirable before is now almost not only desirable, but also almost magically within reach.

Table 4.3

*Conflict/Resolution Categories in Ulrike and Matthias Sperbers'**Post-Unification Narrative*


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<b>Complication:</b> The Sperbers had to rent their own space for their practice.	<b>Resolution:</b> They earn more money. <b>Resolution:</b> They are working harder.
<b>Complication:</b> Their equipment was outdated and the space needed to be renovated.	
<b>Complication:</b> They needed a loan to do this and now they have to treat as many patients as possible to pay it back.	
<b>Complication:</b> They were not familiar with capitalistic thinking.	<b>Resolution:</b> They eventually learned capitalistic thinking.
<b>Complication:</b> They, but especially Matthias, suffered depression and anxiety.	<b>Resolution:</b> Life is more interesting now than before. <b>Resolution:</b> They drive a better car now than before. <b>Resolution:</b> They own their own house now compared to before. <b>Resolution:</b> They can go to Western countries on vacation now, even the U.S.
<b>Complication:</b> Their lives are much more stressful now.	

---

This type of portrayal and conflict resolution will be demonstrated to be tied squarely into the Barthesian Operation Margarine Myth of the bourgeoisie. The myth is accomplished in that one

... take[s] the established value which you want to restore or develop, and first lavishly display its pettiness, the injustices which it produces, the vexations to

which it gives rise, and plunge it into its natural imperfection; then, at the last minute, save it *in spite of*, or rather *by* the heavy curse of its blemishes. (Barthes, 1957, p. 41)

The narrative equivalent to this myth is found in a genre of advertisements for margarine, in which

... the episode always begins with a cry of indignation against margarine: 'A mousse? Made with margarine? Unthinkable!' 'Margarine? Your uncle will be furious!' And then one's eyes are opened, one's conscience becomes more pliable, and margarine is a delicious food, tasty, digestible, economical, useful in all circumstances. The moral at the end is well-known: 'Here you are, rid of a prejudice that cost you dearly!' (Barthes, 1957, p. 42)

A parallel narrative takes place in the Ulrike and Matthias Sperber text. The first part of the narrative is based on the vexations to which the East German system and the life lived under it gave rise, such as modest living in small apartments, lack of access to consumer goods, lack of opportunity to travel in Western countries, and the stress and potential problems associated with criticizing the system. The naturalness of this imperfection is implied - nowhere does it seem that anybody possibly could have been nor were they satisfied with this system and these vexations. Unthinkable! However, each of the conflict categories created by the system has its resolution category couched in the second part of the narrative, in which Western norms are demonstrated to "save" the East German from the assumed dissatisfaction with clearly inferior conditions.

In the process, Ulrike and Matthias are fundamentally changed in their world view, and, after a psychological crisis of ability, journeying through depression, come out triumphant and reassured in their newfound happiness of a better, "capitalistic" way of thinking, evidenced in their new car and home and their vacations to Western Europe and

even the United States. In this state, they too are rid of the prejudice or at least the lack of exposure to capitalistic thinking which cost them so dearly earlier in their lives. Now they are emotionally better off because they work harder and their lives are more interesting, and physically better off because they can own and consume, including the all-important, identity-shoring large German automobile. Thus the reader is led, via mythology, to an evaluative conclusion that life for the Sperbers in the West is more difficult but superior, and that they are much better off and more satisfied in this system than they were in the GDR.

It was pointed out in Chapter 3 that of all the categories of the German Other, the East German Other is the most likely to be portrayed using passive linguistic constructions. It is notable from a narrative standpoint that of the three texts chosen for analysis in this chapter, the narrative of the East German Other is the only one told in third person instead of first person. Despite the fact that they experienced the socialist German state firsthand, nowhere in this particular narrative are Matthias and Ulrike Sperber depicted as having their own voices regarding thoughts, experiences or opinions during pre- or post-unification.

Though it is possible that the omniscient narrator is also a former East German, the manner in which the conflict categories are solved points to a decidedly West German (or at the very least a pro-capitalistic) perspective. In narrating a story of East Germans who overcame the presumed distasteful complications of the socialist welfare state by pulling themselves up by their own proverbial bootstraps toward conflict resolutions based Western capitalistic norms and work ethic, the majority legitimizes its own standards as

the yardstick against which the minority/immigrant (East German) is measured and eliminates excuses for failure by highlighting the story of the couple who lived up to the expectations set forth. Thus, the West German or the pro-West German, i.e. democratic/capitalistic viewpoint is allowed to “assert its power over anyone or any place whose lifeways have been organized by principles other than the maximizing, rationalizing mechanisms of industrial production and the manipulations of commodity capitalism” (Pratt, 1992, p. 153).

The solution of conflict categories via West German, capitalistic norms and the dual indexicals employed in this particular text thematize the inferiority of the East German Other. This is even more pronounced in dealing with the Turkish German Other, as assimilative resolution categories are combined not only with indexicals, but first/third person subject/object blurring to author a disappearing Turkish identity in the German realm under the pretense of pointing out that similarities override differences in the greater human context.

### **Turkish German Fatma Yützel and *The Great Family of Man***

The final text (my translation) comprises the “People” section of the culture information that comprises Chapter 2 of *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999). “Fatma Yützel” is the fictional daughter of Turkish guest workers. Born in Berlin, “Fatma” represents a very real group of young people who speak better German than Turkish and are much more familiar with life in Germany than in their “home” countries, but are not granted citizenship based on German citizenship laws which hold blood/ethnicity over naturalization as an indicator of “Germanness.” While it can be

argued that this piece is not narrative because it is written in the present tense, the title of the piece “Fatma Yützel erzählt: Freundschaft deutsch und türkisch” translates into “Fatma Yützel tells her story: Friendship - Turkish and German.” The verb “erzählen” is literally to narrate a story, as opposed to “sagen” (telling something factual or literal) or “erklären” (to explain a concept). It is clear that the intention of the piece is for Fatma to narrate her experience.

Because of pedagogical textbook considerations, it is not feasible for this piece to appear where it does in the past tense, as this grammatical structure is not addressed until later in the book. However, it is noted that the piece brings up and resolves conflict/resolution categories in the same argumentative-narrative manner that the previous two case studies do, thus fulfilling the causal relationships criterion of narration. Posited as “Fatma’s” self-narrative, the text appears next to a picture of a “Turkish-German” teenager marked by clearly non-German features and clothing (see Figure 4.3).



“Fatma Yützel” - Widmaier and Widmaier. *Treffpunkt Deutsch*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. ©1999 by Prentice Hall. Used with permission.

*Figure 4.3.* Fatma Yützel: German born daughter of Turkish guest workers.

The original German text can be found in Appendix A-3. The translated text reads as follows:



*Fatma Yützel tells her story: friendship, Turkish and German*

My name is Fatma Yützel and I am fifteen years old. My parents come from Turkey. They have lived in Berlin since 1975 and I was born here in Berlin. We live in a large apartment complex and we have a lot of neighbors there - Turks and Germans. We often visit our Turkish neighbors in the evenings and on the weekends, or our neighbors visit us, because our neighbors are also our friends. We never visit our German neighbors and the Germans almost never visit their German neighbors either. My parents think that the Germans are cold and that they don't have any friends. But my schoolfriend Melanie says that this isn't so. Melanie is German and she says that her parents have very good friends. These friends are not their neighbors though, rather, friends from their school days or their work colleagues. So, the Germans aren't cold at all, just different from us Turks.

My parents speak almost no German and for that reason, they have very little contact with the Germans. I speak and write well in German and I am often at Melanie's house because I find not only her, but her brother as well, to be nice. But I don't say that at home because in Turkey, a decent girl doesn't have a boyfriend and the parents find the husband for their daughter. But I was born here in Germany, speak much better German than Turkish and maybe I'll even marry a German someday. (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 73, my translation)

Like Ida Jobe's, this life account is posited as a first person narrative. However, particularly in the case of this text, it is important to keep in mind that it was authored by a third party textbook writer/publisher. Thus, even if "Fatma Yützel" is a real person, it will be argued that the story she is telling about herself is not a first person narrative, rather, a construction of her identity by a third party with vested interests in portraying her life in a way that reinforces the majority norm.

The setting for this particular narrative is Fatma's introduction of herself and the fact that her parents are Turkish and have lived in Berlin, where Fatma was born, since 1975. The reader is oriented to the information that she and her parents live in a large apartment building with many Turkish and German neighbors. The secondary discourse pattern accomplished in this narration is broken down in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

*Conflict/Resolution Categories in Fatma Yützel's Narrative*

<b>Complication:</b> We visit our Turkish neighbors and they visit us because they are our friends, but we don't visit our German neighbors and they don't visit us.	<b>Resolution:</b> Melanie is German. I like her and her family and am often at her house.
<b>Complication:</b> My foreign-born parents think that the Germans are cold.	<b>Resolution:</b> Melanie says that the Germans aren't cold - they have friends too, but from work or school rather than their neighbors.
<b>Complication:</b> My foreign-born parents don't speak much German and don't have much contact with the Germans.	<b>Resolution:</b> I speak and write German.
<b>Complication:</b> I like Melanie's brother David, but I can't tell my parents because decent Turkish girls do not have boyfriends and the parents choose the husband for their daughter.	<b>Resolution:</b> I was born in Germany and speak better German than Turkish. Maybe I'll marry a German someday.

At first glance, the text seems to follow a simple and possibly even neutral pattern of highlighting difference and then demonstrating overall similarity via overriding human activities such as birth, social interaction, courtship, and marriage, leading to the probable reader evaluation via Fatma's linguistic and cultural assimilation that although the German ways are different from the Turkish ways, they are acceptable and understandable to those who have access to and contact with Germans such as Melanie.

The tendency to highlight difference and then ultimately make a plea for human universals demonstrated in "Fatma's" narrative ties into a kind of mythology commented

upon by Barthes (1957) in his musings about a museum exhibit entitled “The Great Family of Man,” an exhibit designed to highlight the concept of human community.

According to Barthes, the exhibit was founded on a

. . . myth [that] functions in two stages: first, the difference between human morphologies is asserted, exoticism is insistently stressed, the infinite variations of the species, the diversity in skins, skulls, and customs are made manifest, the image of Babel is complacently projected over that of the world. Then, from this pluralism, a type of unity is magically produced: man is born, works, laughs and dies everywhere in the same way. . . . This myth of the human ‘condition’ rests on a very old mystification, which always consists in placing Nature at the bottom of History. (Barthes, 1957, pp. 100-101)

However, despite this seeming innocence in the highlighting of difference and the potential for human similarity, difference, while seemingly innocent in “Fatma’s” narrative, does have its liabilities.

This liability lies in the unenlightened results of non-assimilation to German norms, as evidenced by Fatma’s Turkish parents as juxtaposed against the fruits of Fatma’s progressive and integrative activities in the German context. “Fatma’s” narrative is based on a differences to similarities approach and has well-developed resolution categories that are based on solving the complications of Turkish difference through Melanie’s German norms. Because of her mastery of the German language and her contact with the Germans, Melanie can choose to reject the Turkish ways of her parents and assimilate to the German way, a potentiality that is evidenced by the final resolution category of possibly marrying a German in order to solve the conflict category of not having a boyfriend and/or having her parents choose her husband in the Turkish tradition.

This ultimately leads the reader to a probable conclusion based on assimilation into German culture and partial to whole rejection of Turkish culture. Thus, the primary narrative centered on the Turkish parents' perception of difference is abandoned at the resolution stage in favor of a secondary narrative which points towards a conclusion that shuns the stupidity, backwardness, ignorance and inability of her still-foreign parents and posits them as the fruits of non-assimilation. In this case, the resolution doesn't solve the complication categories created by the "Other" either, rather, it leaves the "genuine" Turks in the story behind as unassimilated and hopelessly uninformed while simultaneously pointing to "Fatma's" potential ability to avoid this fate through her linguistic and cultural savvy with things German.

As was pointed out in Van Dijk's (1997) San Diego car accident narrative, "The lack of a Resolution emphasizes the (negative) Complication category and thereby the problematic nature of immigrants in the country" (p. 135). In "Fatma's" case, however, this is taken a step further in that as the narrative progresses, the resolution categories negate the creators of the complication category (Turkish guest workers) altogether in favor of a type of integration represented by marriage to a German and the subsequent generation by generation elimination of an already marginalized Turkish identity and mother tongue. Thus, a possible hoped for conclusion to the story is a more "Germanized" subject who is more "Yützel" (a conceivably more German-looking and -sounding name) than "Fatma."

While this coda achieves the assimilation and negation of difference viewed as desirable by the cultural majority, it is interesting to note that the textbook authors seem

to fail to recognize or incorporate the cultural reality of a statement such as “Maybe someday I’ll even marry a German” according to how the Germans would generally react to it. Although intercultural/interracial marriages do occur between “Germans” and descendants of Turkish guest workers and other minorities, German society in general is very intolerant and even verges on large-scale public hysteria towards this kind of “miscegenation,” which is thought to contaminate German blood (Campt et al., 1998), thereby potentially confusing the application of the “Blutsrecht” (blood rights to German citizenship) clause upon which Germanness is based, as opposed to the naturalization approach taken by most other immigration states (Fennel, 1997).

Taken in isolation, the statement about possible marriage to a German in what can be considered defiance of her parents’ Turkish and potentially Islamic patriarchal norms can conceivably be viewed as an expression of “Fatma’s” self-empowerment. However, when viewed in the context of a narrative it, as a Conclusion category, (1) fails to directly solve any of the four Complication categories, (2) hints at a possible solution only through German norms, and (3) uses “Fatma” to point out further potential problems from the viewpoint of the racial/cultural majority by incorporating a Conclusion category which is likely to stir up centuries old anxieties about genetics and “Germanness” which have threatened national identity and the security of the racial majority since pre-colonial Germany (Zantop, 1997). Analyzing the secondary narrative structure of “Fatma Yützel’s” narrative clearly demonstrates that it is based on racism through the non-solution or elimination of complication categories by majority norms. However, there are

several additional tactics via which power is derived for the majority at the expense of the minority.

The tactic of dual indexicality (Hill, 1995) is employed to create further racist, sexist and Eurocentric views about “Fatma” that serve to highlight her foreignness and problematicity within the German culture as she exists. This is most obvious in the statement which “Fatma” is portrayed as making concerning members of the opposite sex. “I am often at Melanie’s house because I find not only her, but her brother as well, to be nice. But I don’t say that at home because in Turkey, a decent girl doesn’t have a boyfriend and the parents find the husband for their daughter” (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 73, my translation). This statement is clearly based on dual indexicals understood by both the majority L1 German speaker and the minority L1 Turkish speaker relating Turkish women to patriarchy and in turn to repression based on Eurocentric assumptions about Islamic values and practice.

It is interesting to note as well that following the preceding sentence in the narrative about the Germans and Turks being different but that this is not a problem, no acknowledgment is made that the father/daughter discourse about daughters’ dating practices and their relation to men is probably more similar across the cultures mentioned than divergent. In this case, difference is only understood by both parties through the vehicle of the assumption of extreme Islamic patriarchy to which “Fatma” is indexed through race and not necessarily through actual religious practice, and which, conversely, is also posited along with everything in the German/Turkish dichotomy as “just different,” but cheerfully not problematic. However, given the research on the preference

for the use of difference as a tool for teaching culture and evidence of the negative sociocognitive effects of its emphasis, we see that difference is indeed problematic and intentionally so. Pointing out difference and labeling it “good” and worthy of note feeds into the underlying structures which maintain the balance of majority power and minority silence.

In addition to a problematic representation of the minority by the majority in this particular “culture box,” the most subversive tactic of all is its portrayal as a first person minority narrative. Linguistic research on impression and face management by minority speakers in addressing a majority audience shows that contextualization cues are often used by L2 speakers to manage L1 interlocutors’ impressions of them. Though “Fatma” is likely an L1 (bilingual) speaker of German, I extend the following argument to cultural minorities as well. A contextualization cue consists of an utterance that is unexpected based on the preceding information and its employment is based around the building and maintenance of a context for both speakers through interaction, often geared towards creating a more positive impression on the L2 speaker’s part, as was found to be the case in analyses of interview tactics demonstrated by an Asian job applicant on the British job market (Ellis & Roberts, 1987). This clearly illustrates that linguistic and cultural minority members are very much concerned with and aware of the need for impression management.

But “Fatma’s” “first person” narrative is so self-incriminating that it is, in fact, much more feasible as a third person story about minorities designed to create a negative interactional context by activating the indexicals mentioned earlier in the paper which

highlight problematic differences. At one point in the narrative, we find “Fatma” speaking about spending time at Melanie’s house and expressing what can be assumed from “Fatma’s” photo to be an age-appropriate awareness that Melanie’s brother is “nice.” The next statement alludes to this awareness as being punishable at home, as it renders her an “indecent” Turkish girl caught between contemplating the difference between being allowed to choose her own boyfriend/husband and having her parents pick one out for her. A self-accusatory portrayal of one’s own indecency just for noticing a friend’s brother and the public admission of deceit (I don’t tell my parents) seem just a little too negative to be a first person narrative given prior research by interactional sociolinguists on impression and face-management by minorities.

It seems feasible that in the same manner in which the linguistic/cultural minority is aware of the need to manage positive context and impression through contextualization cues, the linguistic/cultural majority is also aware of the advantage in creating a negative contextualization cue for said speaker. Based on “Fatma’s” previous line of narration, the utterance related to decency seems a bit out of place and seems to carry with it a negative context for potential interaction with Germans. The hypothesis that this tactic can be exploited in reverse is well in line with Van Dijk’s (1997) assessment of second order stories as argumentative rather than narrative. His summary of research on narrative theory points out that conventional narrative is “organized by general properties of conversational interaction [including] strategies of negotiation and impression formation” (p. 124). These strategies seem to be employed in reverse in “Fatma’s” (argumentative) narration.



Keeping in line with the premise that the contents of the culture box can be used to maintain power relations, a look at linguistic research on the loss or blurring of the first/third person, subject/object distinction, especially in regard to women's language and power, can be illuminating. Taking away a person's ability to portray him/herself in his/her own words by a third party has been shown to be an effective tool in pragmatic silencing which in turn, feeds power and hegemony maintenance of the dominant over the powerless (Gal, 1989). This kind of dominance is referred to as "interpretive control" (Lakoff, 1995, p. 29) and usually takes the form of the dominant group reserving the right to assign meaning to the communications of the powerless group.

Yet the tactic of this narrative goes a step even beyond that in that not only is the majority portraying the minority in a manner which is advantageous to the creation and maintenance of constructs which support existing hegemony, but it is portrayed as if it came from the minority itself. When what appears to be a first person portrayal by a minority group member is in actuality a third person portrayal by a member of the dominant group, as is the case with Fatma's narrative, the power dynamics in that act become truly alarming because they give the appearance of first-person minority substantiation of the "truth" of the stereotype produced by the majority.

Such portrayals lead to a public notion of a minority subject who is "acting more or less voluntarily according to the interests and wishes of the powerful [which is] much more effective [in] control[ling] the minds of others" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 101). As would be expected in such a situation, this usually goes unnoticed, as it "has been taken for

granted in this and many other cultures for so long that it requires a special awareness to notice it and novel responses to deal with it” (Lakoff, 1995, p. 29).

This chapter has demonstrated the manner in which variations in narrative structure are used to create realities about the Other. As specific, marked instances of narration about the Other within the culture box, they are generated in both a Peircian state of secondness in signification and in the Barthesian second order system of connotation and myth. As such, they represent individual points on the paradigmatic axis, aligning themselves with the Saussurian sense of “parole” that represents individual usage in the “grammar” of the topology of the L2 culture text. As instances of constructed equivalence, or “selection” in the Jakobsonian sense, these narratives serve as units of building material with which a mythically driven pseudo-connotation that reinforces subconscious myths about the other as a denotative “reality” of sorts for the user of the L2 German textbook is created.

As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, these building materials, once a part of foundational knowledge about the Other in the culture box, become integrated into the overall discourse about the Other in various unmarked areas of the textbook as well, resurfacing in the form of third order metaphor and metonymy systems. Just as Saussure postulated that change arises in individual instances of “parole” and eventually finds its way into systematized use in “langue,” I posit that individual, marked instances of narrative about the Other on the L2 textbook paradigmatic plane (the culture box) eventually find their way into systematized use on the syntagmatic plane of the L2 textbook via metaphors to metonyms and discourses that appear in unmarked areas of the

text such as listening dialogs, reading exercises, grammar exercises, and the like. These metaphors and their unmarked contexts will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, as well as the cognitive, significative effects that the transfer of these mythologies from the conscious, individualized paradigmatic plane into the subconscious, systematized syntagmatic plane has on L2 learners. Applications of pedagogy and German Cultural Studies in the basic language classroom will also be shown to potentially constitute the kind of “novel approach” to power and control issues that Lakoff (1995) deems so vital to understanding and correcting them.

**CHAPTER 5**

**NOT JUST LIVING LIES:**

**METAPHOR, METONYMY, AND CULTURED PUBLIC DISCOURSE AS**

**TRUTH PROPOSITIONS**

This chapter will examine the third order systems of metaphor and metonymy in unmarked contexts of the textbook, i.e. outside of the culture box. It will then go on to demonstrate how dominant metaphors influence subtleties such as grammatical and rhetorical structures in listening dialogs, reading exercises, grammar exercises and the like. Its purpose is to demonstrate that themes contained in individual, marked instances of narration on the textbook's paradigmatic axis resurface in other general, unmarked areas of the text's syntagmatic plane and from there, are disseminated and create, contribute to and/or reinforce discourse about the "Other" among the learning public.

**The Li(v)es We Live: Metaphor**

In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that metaphor is the basis upon which "most of our normal conceptual system is. . . structured; that is, most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts" (p. 56). As such, it is posited to be less linguistically exotic and more "pervasive in everyday life" (p. 1) than most people realize. Though we have demonstrated myth, especially petit-bourgeois myth, to be an important and pervasive factor in everyday, cultured life, metaphor can be demonstrated to be even more pervasive and less perceptible because of

its subtleties and its appeal to commonly accepted structural and conceptual ways of viewing the world.

While myth in the Barthesian sense is comprised of two sets of sign processes that are relatively intangible and go largely unnoticed by those surrounded by them, metaphor involves a more linear and contained transposition of the familiar onto the unfamiliar, resulting in “ways of partially structuring one experience in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 77). From a more applied theoretical perspective, Lakoff and Johnson describe metaphor as a “conceptual mapping from one semantic source domain to a different semantic target domain” (Santa Anna, 1995, p. 194). Applied to this dissertation, metaphor is part of the overarching series of processes by which the familiar (C1 culture) is transposed to the unfamiliar (C2 culture), i.e. the “Other” in order to create a controlled understanding of the Other for L2 German learners. In this process, “the source domains are often those things we as humans can easily think about [our own culture], the parts of our physical world which are handy and familiar. The target domains are most frequently conceptual ones, hidden from our senses or otherwise unknown to us [the target culture]” (p. 194).

While the process is quite direct, it is complicated by what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) conceptualize to be directly emergent and metaphorically emergent categories, claiming that both play a role in causation, which he describes as having a directly emergent core that is elaborated metaphorically. A directly emergent metaphor is one that exists because of our direct experience, such as orientation (up/down), while a metaphorically emergent category exists because of the values that have been associated

with that category, (up is good/down is bad). Both correlate to experience, whether as part of an environmental or a culturally, sign-mediated reality in which we participate. This is perhaps illustrated more precisely by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) comments on the categories of conceptual metaphors:

Conceptual metaphors are grounded in correlations within our experience [and] may be of two types: experiential co-occurrence, and experiential similarity. An example of experiential co-occurrence would be the MORE IS UP metaphor. MORE IS UP is grounded in the co-occurrence of two types of experiences: adding more of a substance and seeing the level of the substance rise. . . . An example of experiential similarity is LIFE IS A GAME, where one experiences actions or life as a gambler, and the possible consequences of those actions are perceived as winning or losing. (p. 155)

Both of these metaphor categories can be seen in the case of the Matthias and Ulrike Sperber account examined in Chapter 4, in which more money and more work made their lives better, a reality that C1 U.S. Americans do not question, not only because of our ideological beliefs in capitalism and our cultural predisposition toward the concept of the American Dream, but also because of our implicit understanding and acceptance of a very fundamental experiential similarity metaphor that transcends cultural and political ideas. Although the experience of adding more to something and seeing the level of that substance rise may not necessarily give rise to a MORE IS UP metaphor in all cultures, this particular experiential co-occurrence is implicitly understood to be correct because "whether in national politics or in everyday interaction, people in power get to impose their metaphors" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 157).

Not only does the MORE IS UP metaphor "define a social reality within which people have roles that make sense to them [and to others, but it also ties into a culturally

affected] conception of physical reality. What is real for an individual as a member of a culture is a product of both his [or her] social reality and the way in which that shapes his experience of the physical world. Since much of our social reality is understood in metaphorical terms, and since our conception of the physical world is partly metaphorical, metaphor plays a very significant role in determining what is real for us” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 146). The concept of capitalism being better than (UP FROM) socialism is both salient for and reinforcing of the member of a C1 culture that defines itself by such norms and thus is readily understood and assimilated on its own terms rather than that of the C2 subculture’s terms.

Furthermore, because the implicit physical and cultural metaphor of MORE IS UP has been activated, any information given about the former East Germans Matthias and Ulrike Sperber that falls in line with such an understanding is automatically validated in the mind of the textbook user. “It is because we understand *situations* in terms of our conceptual systems that we can understand *statements* using that system of concepts as being *true*, that is, as fitting or not fitting the situation as we understand it. Truth is therefore a function of our conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 179).

What of those statements made in first or third person both within and outside of the culture box? We have noted that metaphorical substitution, also referred to as selection, is an internal relationship based on similarity of substitution sets and can include, but is not limited to: synonym, antonym, resemblance, analogy, metalanguage and metaphor. On the other hand, combination or deletion is a relationship based on concurrent or sequential combinations of narrative or epic information (statements of

sorts) and is “the fundamental basis of predications” (Waugh, 1976, p. 33) upon which argumentative truth substantiations can be and are often based. This is the crux of the process of metonymy.

### **The Li(v)es We Live: Metonymy**

Metaphor actually serves as a supercategory for a number of often simultaneous processes that occur in the framing and communication of concepts. Metonymy is one such process and it too plays a significant role in the meaning making that occurs outside of the L2 Culture Box. Whereas metaphor relies on similarities, metonymy employs transposition to create relationships by which one thing stands for or relates to another in a larger, familiarized context, such as part to whole analogies. Jakobson posited that metonymy results from an encoding process on the syntagmatic axis that involves relationships between neighborhood, proximity and remoteness as well as subordination and coordination. Furthermore, according to Jakobson “the opposition of selection and combination is the basis for many diverse dichotomies in language use including metaphor (relationship by similarity) and metonymy (relationship by contiguity)” (Waugh, 1976, p. 34). Lodge proposes that, in simpler terms, “deletion is to combination as substitution is to selection” (Lodge, 1977, p. 76).

### **The Li(v)es We Live: Discourse**

According to Jakobson, “the development of a discourse may take place along two different semantic lines: one topic may lead to another either through their similarity [creation of a metaphor] or their contiguity [use of metonymy]” (quoted in Lodge, 1977, p. 79). Both processes are demonstrated in the post-secondary L2 German textbook



discourses that exist outside of the marked culture box. Let us return here to the example of Ulrike and Matthias Sperber for an example of how this is accomplished and reproduced in the L2 textbook via discourses of similarity and transposition, or the use of a common metaphor that was turned into a social metonym via transposition and juxtaposition, alluded to in a marked culture box, and then passed on into less conscious realms outside of the culture box.

That Ulrike and Matthias are pictured with a Trabant is very predictable based on a very real East German/West German Trabant/BMW discourse revolving around automobiles after the reunification. Recall from Chapter 3 that automobiles play an important symbolic role for Germans, citing a linguistic study by Reiher (1996) in which stereotypes about East and West Germans were elicited from participants in both groups with results indicating a direct indexical binding the “Wessi” among other things to “big cars” and the “Ossi” to the word “Trabant” (p. 40).

Such cars [Mercedes, BMW] had become the national symbols of freedom. Being privileged to choose from the wealth of West German car species and not having to drive one of the so-called ‘car cans’ was seen as one of the richest symbols that unification provided to East Germans. Along with the Deutschmark, a Mercedes or BMW was a metonymy for all that the West offered and could stand for. (Gilliar, 1996, p. 71)

An explosion of public texts, cartoons, photo montages, jokes, and automobile advertisements pointing out or alluding to the inferiority of the automobile compared to Western automobiles appeared immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall and continued steadily for about two years before leveling off. These discourse genres are based on the kind of dual indexicality that Hill (1995) illustrated with Mock Spanish and

play on the direct indexical of BMW (sign) = West German (signified) and Trabant (sign) = East German (signified) as they exist in an implicit superior/inferior dichotomy. A popular joke illustrates this: “A Trabbi is driving in Switzerland and comes upon a cow pie. The cow pie looks up and asks the Trabbi, ‘What *are* you exactly?’ The Trabbi proudly responds, ‘I’m a car!’ ‘Ha!’ answers the cow pie, ‘if you’re a car, then I’m a chocolate layer cake!’” In other genres, a cartoon in the February 26, 1990 issue of *Der Spiegel* depicts a man siphoning gas into his Trabant from a car with a Deutschmark coin insignia on the trunk, and one in the March 12, 1990 issue depicts a Trabant being towed by “Kohl and Co.”

A series of photos appearing in the August 13, 1990 issue features a visual narrative of sorts in which the biography of the Trabant takes the viewer from factory production in East Germany to triumphant arrival via the Brandenburg Gate to progressively negative images ending with a photo of a whole automobile which had been tossed into an apartment complex dumpster. These cartoons and jokes are, as in the case of the Mock Spanish examples, only understood within the context of dual indexicality based on the juxtaposition of West/superior with East/inferior. This implicit understanding resulted in the highly successful use of the “Operation Margarine” Myth and the “Trabant/BMW” Indexical by ad designer Guenter Bestgen of Conrad & Burnett in a November 29, 1989 Fiat Panda advertisement that ran in the German weekly newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* and received a “super positive” public response.

The advertisement narrates the story of an East German family, recently arrived in the West to buy bananas and stopping on their sightseeing/purchasing trip to compare the

Fiat Panda to their own Trabant. The large print caption above the photo of the family and the Panda reads, “Now really, Erich . . . eh, Egon . . . we had imagined the material reality of post-capitalism to be much more decadent.” The smaller print goes on to narrate a story of sorts in which complication one occurs when the Panda doesn’t fit into their expectations because of their socialization regarding the decadence of the West. The second complication is the cost of the car, given in West Marks. Both conflict categories are solved via the car’s economy and lack of pretense, so long as one has Western money.

This pattern is structured around a similar pattern of the genre of margarine advertisements. The surprise that the family encounters at the difference between what they have been told by policy makers such as Erich Honecker and Egon Krenz and the reality of the seeming normalcy and modesty of Western life opens the door to the distinct possibility that this family’s world view just might be in need of questioning. This parallels the introduction to the possibility that one can make a mousse with margarine in the “Operation Margarine” myth. The Panda ad goes on to address the negative propaganda that has been “spread” about the West and the reassurance that is found when the realization strikes that there is really no threat at all in Western values or products.

Just as margarine is found to be an acceptable and even desirable alternative and thus adopted, the hoped-for coda/conclusion of the Fiat advertisement narrative is the rejection of the Trabant in favor of the West German automobile. And just as margarine is found to be an acceptable and even desirable alternative and thus adopted, the hoped-for ideological coda/conclusion of the Ulrike and Matthias Sperber narrative is the rejection of East German ways of thinking and doing in favor of the West German

identity norms of capitalism, with a clear before/inferior and after/superior dichotomy having been established.

By appealing to commonly shared understandings about the exotic, metaphor and metonym become, in addition to myth, powerful tools in the construction of linguistic ideologies and conceptual creations about the Other because “everyday metaphor embodies the common-sense world view of its target domain” (Santa Anna, 1995, p. 192) and as such, is easily assimilated and rarely questioned. Like all discourses and their constituent parts, metaphor is not a stagnant entity, rather, an interactively constructed one that spans time and interlocutors and which, when used on a daily basis for political purposes, “permits the creation of a common ground by appeal to a shared cultural frame” (Santa Anna, 1995, p. 195).

This common ground is created via a process by which metonymic and metaphorical instances gain acceptance and grow into a publically accepted, dominant metaphor and from there, into discourses. Santa Anna’s (1995) work centers around the manner in which metaphor and metonymy evolve into public discourses about immigrants, especially illegal ones, reducing them to subhuman subjects in the eyes of the public consumers of said discourse. Her analysis of the use of repeated daily metaphors and metonymic strategies such “part for the whole” (p. 198) and “institution for the people” (p. 199) reveals among others a decidedly “whole” vs. “part” dichotomy. This is the foundation for dichotomies such as nation/body vs. immigrant/disease, nation/house vs. immigrant/dirt, dangerous floodwater, etc. From such metonymic tactics arises dominant or “meta”-metaphors such as “Immigrants are Animals” (p. 198).

This is then translated into political analogies such as of “Immigrants correspond to citizens as animals correspond to humans” (p. 203), contributing to the kinds of racist discourse based on animal metaphor identified by Van Dijk (1987a) among others. Other meta-metaphors identified in linguistic research include: Immigrant as Enemy (Mehan, 1997), Immigrant as Disease/Criminal (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995) and Immigrant as Burden (Calavita, 1996). The pattern that these discourses take on is replicated in the unmarked areas of the L2 textbook regarding the “Other.”

Take for example the following excerpt (my translation) from a reading selection in *Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999). The text in the original German can be found in Appendix A-4.

#### A Letter from Freiburg

*Claudia Martens just got a letter from her American friend Michael Hayward. Claudia was an exchange student for a year at Mike's school in Atlanta. She answers him immediately.*

In response to Michael's inquiries about studying history in Freiburg for two semesters, Claudia relates the following in her return letter:

In any case, the food in the cafeteria is always cheap and relatively good, but sometimes the living situation is catastrophic. There aren't enough dormitories for all of the students and private accommodations have gotten ridiculously expensive. The housing shortage is particularly bad; since the reunification, we have been flooded with Germans from the former GDR and with ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe. By the way, last semester I tutored some school children of two foreign families in German, because these new citizens often speak little German. (p. 176)

Michael's inquiry about studying history in Freiburg during the following academic year is met with completely unrelated information about children of foreign families having

limited German abilities. Relevant information about the housing situation for students is based around the metonymic strategy of “part to whole” and its resulting kind of “Us”/house vs. “Them”/dangerous floodwater metaphorical dichotomy - quite literally to be exact as “flooded” is the precise word employed in the text - and feeds into a dominant metaphor of Other as Dangerous, Other as Burden or potentially even Other as Enemy.

From here it is clearly evident that from the second order connotative information in the marked culture box and through the third order metaphor and metonymy outside of the culture box, a fixed, dominant anti-Other discourse has already taken root within the bounds of this particular L2 textbook. When speaking about wider discursive practices, Van Dijk (1997) demonstrates how “recurrent or preferred topical or thematic structures, lexical inventories, conventional text schemata, or stylistic rhetorical strategies of groups, organizations or whole cultures” (p. 122) are woven underneath the stories which are told to reinforce the commonly accepted negative attitudes about the Other. Taken as an individual entity, the L2 German textbook seems to operate on a parallel plane in that recurring themes in marked connotative and unmarked metaphorical and metonymical contexts seem to be woven underneath information that appears in other textbook venues via discourse, syntax, and lexis.

In a section titled “Travel Experiences” *Kontakte* (Terrell et al., 2000) one reads that “Maria and Michael were in Morocco on their last vacation. First, Maria rode a camel. / Then, she visited a bazaar with Michael. / Michael bought a hat there. Unfortunately, in the process somebody stole his wallet” (p. 248). While this incident is posited as having happened on foreign soil, the cartoon photo clearly depicts the agent of

this crime as a young boy who has darker skin than the subjects of the story - the lighter skinned German couple. So we see that even outside of Germany, the Other is engaged in crime, feeding metonymic statements into a decidedly and previously identified “Other as Criminal” discourse. Additional metaphoric/metonymic Other discourses in the L2 German textbook will be demonstrated to include The Other Cannot Speak German and The Other Does Not Belong in Germany.

### ***The Other Cannot Speak German Discourse***

The topic of German language as a marker of Germanness proper and the inability to speak German as a marker of foreignness is thematized several times in various activities and exercises in the text books. A reading selection in Chapter 5 of *Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, my translation) proclaims, “Ostendorff lives with his wife and their three children in Washington. The children must not forget their mother tongue and therefore the family speaks mostly German at home” (p. 146). The text in its original German can be found in Appendix A-5. While this statement in isolation seems and genuinely is relatively harmless, further exercises and examples tease out the related discourses in this realm and provide a larger context for viewing this statement as it relates to Germanness.

This is illustrated to some degree in part of a grammar exercise in *Deutsch: Na klar!* (DiDonato et al., 2000, my translation) that thematizes foreign students whose German is difficult to comprehend. The original German text can be found in Appendix A-6.

### Übung 4 Im Café Kadenz

Several students are conversing at different tables at the Café Kadenz. Complete the blanks with appropriate personal pronouns in the nominative or the accusative case.

3. E: And how do you like the residents in your dorm?

F: I don't particularly like *them*. I find *them* to be unfriendly. But there are two Italians there from Venice. *They* are really nice. I don't always understand *them* though, especially when *they* speak Italian. (p. 92)

Though these Venetian students' L2 German is authored as difficult for the native German speaker to comprehend, a listening exercise example from Chapter 6 in *Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, my translation) takes the Other Cannot Speak German discourse further by thematizing a seeming assumption that even if the L2 speaker masters German, it cannot be done away from German soil proper, as is illustrated in the following dialog, the original German version of which is found in Appendix A-7.

At the university in Tübingen

Petra: Have you met Peter?

Klaus: Is that the exchange student from Canada?

Petra: Yes. He speaks fantastic German, doesn't he?

Klaus: I think he already studied two semesters in Konstanz.

Petra: Oh, that's why! (p. 156)

Aside from the obvious implications that the reason Peter arrived to Tübingen with a fantastic grasp of the German language is his previous extended sojourn on German soil,



the unspoken implication of such a statement for the L2 learner sitting in a Canadian or US American L2 German classroom is stunningly self-defeating on the part of the textbook authors and editors whose product is assumed to be designed to help the user gain German proficiency on Anglo soil.

The assertion that there is a clear Other Cannot Speak German Discourse in the analyzed corpus is not based solely on the above isolated examples. We see yet again that surprise is the order of the day in another *Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, my translation) text as a Greek, i.e. non-German citizen possesses perfect German skills. The original German text is found in Appendix A-8.

Demetra, a pupil from a guest-worker family, is interviewed for the school newspaper.

Interviewer: It surprises me that you, as a foreigner, speak such perfect German.

Demetra: It's no wonder; I was born here. Many even take me for a German.

Interviewer: But you are from Greece, right? Where exactly do you feel at home?

Demetra: I ask myself that too. I am more familiar with things here, but it is clear to me that I am not accepted by all Germans. (p. 429)

In addition to the Other Cannot Speak German discourse, this exchange also points clearly to an Other Does Not Belong in Germany discourse that is not only thematized in the textbook offerings but is authored as substantiating the dominant discourse by the blurring of first and third person portrayals.

*The Other Does Not Belong in Germany Discourse*

While Demetra is authored as being clear in her identity based on German language ability, she expresses uncertainty as to her belonging and the exchange is ended with her substantiation of the fact of the reality that she is not accepted by the Germans. Although this certainly can be construed as representative of the genuine feelings of many people in her position, the text does nothing to challenge the dominant majority discourse by having the subject assert herself on this question as she does regarding the language question. In some respects, as a “first person” substantiation of third person majority hegemony in non-acceptance, it feeds into the dominant majority discourse.

This is repeated almost exactly in another text found in *Kontakte* (Terrell et al., 2000, my translation). The original German text can be found in Appendix A-9.

Hello, my name is Mehmet Sengün. I am 29 and was born in Izmir, Turkey. I have lived here in Berlin for 19 years. I live in a small apartment in Kreuzberg, a district of Berlin. Many Turkish people live in Kreuzberg - the Berliners call it Little Istanbul - and a lot of my Turkish friends live near me. At the moment, I am working as a driver for a trucking company. I don't know, but I really don't feel at home in Berlin, and to the Germans, I am forever the Turk (p. 68).

This text can be taken in two ways. The Turkish subject/object appears to be given an opportunity at “voice” in the form of the complaint that the Germans do not allow him to integrate no matter how many German assimilative attributes he possesses. However, we note that again, the subject/object of the text also indirectly feeds into and substantiates a larger “The Other Does Not Belong in Germany” discourse by stating that he is not really at home in Berlin and that he has been affixed and identifies somewhat with their label. How much more effective this text could be were the Turkish subject/object to make an

identity statement on his own terms instead of those around him. However, that would not substantiate the dominant discourse that the Other is truly foreign on German soil.

While the Greek and the Turkish Other in these examples buy into and reinforce the dominant viewpoint on this issue on some levels, there are some notable exceptions in the texts in regard to Swiss and Austrian Others, both of whom are portrayed as actively speaking out against the stereotypes created about their status in the German speaking realm. However, it is noted that even these attempts are grounded in what can be construed as covert prestige attempts and end up almost exclusively aligning themselves with active majority stereotypes about the minority Swiss and Austrian Other.

Chapters 13 and 14 of *Neue Horizonte* (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999) deal with Switzerland “Two Swiss introduce their homeland” and Austria “Two Austrians introduce themselves.” In an excerpt from his introduction to Switzerland, Dr. Anton Fischer, a lawyer from Basil, relates the following (my translation). The original German text can be found in Appendix A-10.

When somebody says that they come from Switzerland, many automatically think of clean streets, chocolate, clocks, cheese and of the Vatican’s Swiss Guards. I always get a little angry about that. I would rather that others know what a political exception Switzerland represents in Europe. I will try to explain some of that to you. (p. 387)

Dr. Fischer goes on to highlight Swiss neutrality and democracy. At the same time, Nicole Wehrli, a translator from Biel, again highlights the exotic linguistic diversity of Switzerland (p. 388), as was a repeated and demonstrated pattern regarding Switzerland within the culture box itself.

The textbook discourses surrounding Austria are more problematic in nature and contain more properties of power wrestling between dominant and marginalized groups, as would be expected given the historical realities of the German annexation of Austria and the prolonged and entrenched Austrian resistance to identifying themselves with Germany. In Chapter 14 of *Neue Horizonte*, Dr. Ulrich Kraus, a Viennese psychologist introduces himself to the reader with the admonition “don’t expect me to analyze the average Austrian” (my translation), though he will “at least try to describe these people - the *homo austriacus* - a little bit” (Dollenmayer & Hanson, 1999, p. 416, my translation).

He starts off with a reminder of Austria’s proud and independent history as a ruling power in the Habsburg Dynasty. He then goes on to state that “many Austrians would describe the difference between themselves and Germans as follows: the German is industrious and the Austrian is laid back” (p. 418, my translation). The original German text excerpts can be found in Appendix A-11. This old stereotype of Austrian “Gemüt” not only continues to find its way into current texts about Austrians, but it now seems to have become appropriated in a type of discourse reminiscent of covert prestige movements, often used by speakers of non-standard dialects to point to conscious choice of the “inferior” form in the face of the power elite as a source of identity and pride.

This phenomenon is repeated in a reading selection for Chapter 5 of *Deutsch heute*, (Moeller et. al., 2000) in which a U.S. American German class is graced with a visit from a “real” Austrian. This excerpt (my translation) demonstrates that although these texts were seemingly created with the goal of dispelling problematic dominant discourses, they actually feed into them - again by positioning the Other as an agent who

reinforces and substantiates problematic discourses. The original German text excerpts can be found in Appendix A-12.

Andreas Obermeier of Graz is visiting his American cousin Sandra Heller. She is a German professor. He goes with her to her German class and talks with the students about Austria.

Perhaps you already know most of the Austria-Cliches. They are not only true, rather, mostly positive. Let's take for example the cliché 'Austria - Land of Music'. Music was and is very important to us Austrians. Many world famous composers like Haydn, Mozart and Schubert were Austrians, and even today there are many music festivals every year.

The text goes on to illuminate the positives of clichés such as Austria - Land of Culture, and the laid back, "gemütlich" Austria well in line with earlier stereotypical portrayals in German textbooks since World War II.

This tactic is somewhat reminiscent of covert prestige movements in which marginalized groups appropriate the majority discourse and turn what has been thought of as either a negative, marked or stereotypical characteristic into a source of community pride. He then goes on to remind students about the political and economic importance of Austria as well, a move reminiscent on some levels of linguistic hypercorrection in which the marginalized minority member aims for the norms of the target, unmarked community (in this case, Wirtschaftswunder West Germany) and sometimes even overshoots them.

While these properties are able to be demonstrated in these texts, it is difficult to tease out the reasons for their presence and the choice to use them made by the text authors. Though it can be said that such texts demonstrate concern for the Swiss and Austrian Other voice, there are still problematic aspects to the discourses that clearly place them and keep them in the realm of the marginalized German speaking minority

within the overall discourse of the textbook in which the [former West] German geographic realm serves as the political, economic and linguistic center.

Certainly many other subtle examples of problematic discourses in the text corpus could be pointed out, however, the preceding examples should suffice to give the reader an insight into the processes and products of the L2 textbook as a site of contestation and representation. The sum total of these processes can be seen in this product, illustrative of the striking effect of the convergence of multiple discourses in this last example in the form of a grammar exercise from *Kontakte* (Terrell et al., 2000, my translation). It demonstrates in perhaps a striking manner the appearance of problematic discourses on the syntagmatic plane L2 German textbook partially because of the direct causality inherent in the grammar forms upon which it focuses and partially because it contains remnants of all the discourses and dominant metaphors discussed thus far. The original German text can be found in Appendix A-13

#### Exercise 4 - Good Reasons?

Combine sentences from the first group with sentences from the second group using conjunctions *because*, *so that*, *in order to*. If you don't like the reasons given, find a better reason.

1. I always want to live here *because* this country is the best country in the world.
2. I want to live in Germany for a few years *in order to* learn German really well.
3. Foreigners often have problems *because* they don't understand the language and the culture of the host country.
4. When I have children, I want to live here *so that* my children can grow up as (Americans, Canadians, Australians, etc).

5. Many foreigners come here *because* one can earn good money here.
6. English should be the only official language (of the USA, Canada, Australia, etc.) *so that* a homogenous society can be made from the multi-cultural population.

Although students are invited to find alternate reasons to complete the causal relationships demonstrated in this text, it is unlikely that they will take the time to do so and even if they do, the information presented here will have already been received on the part of the reader, the effect of which will be outlined in more detail in the next chapter.

The preceding grammar exercise represents a somewhat unfortunate summary of the sum total outcome of the signified meaning making process in the current L2 German textbook corpus. One could take from this exercise the “truths” that the country of the C1 is the best in the world without question, that one must learn German on German soil, that foreigners’ problems are entirely their own fault and most often caused by real or imagined language problems, that foreignness is only to be understood in economic terms, and that a homogeneous society is both desirable and only accomplished via linguistic assimilation.

Whose cultural imaginings and national needs these discourses meet is somewhat questionable. To include discourses in L2 textbooks that glorify the C1 at the expense of the C2 and posit that L2 learning is not really possible within the L1 context that the textbook operates is confusing at best and downright aggravating at worst. The notions of foreignness that are evoked are not surprising given the previous research. However, it is not so much the portrayals themselves as their potential effect within the humanities context that makes this such an urgent topic. “In most cases, what is at issue is not the

truth or the falsity of a metaphor [and its underlying metonymic processes] but the perceptions and inferences that follow from it and the actions that are sanctioned by it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 158).

This chapter has demonstrated instances of metaphor and metonym as they present themselves in the larger, unmarked textbook discourse surrounding the L2 Culture Box. The concluding comments that comprise this dissertation center around the reception and effect of such materials in the L2 German classroom on the L2 learner as well as a commentary on what needs to be done to further this line of research toward more favorable outcomes for the L2 German learner.



## CONCLUSION

### “DOING” CULTURE STUDIES FROM THE CULTURE BOX:

#### MAPPING WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

Much of the focus of this dissertation has been on concepts grounded in triadic states of signification and the relationships that result. Paralleling the triadic sign structure are the three points of reference that comprise the classic “rhetorical triangle” that exists between reader, writer and text. From that perspective, let us quickly review and reframe what this dissertation has done with the L2 culture box thus far by commenting on the corpus of post-secondary L2 German textbooks from all three angles of the original triadic Peircian sign/object/interpretant relationship within the larger framework of the rhetorical triangle. In this case, sign will be taken as the textbook itself, object will be taken as the German culture represented, and interpretant, the focus of the last part of the dissertation, will be taken as the real and implied acts of interpretation by users of the text.

#### The L2 German Textbook from Point of View of Sign

This dissertation has diagramed and illustrated the process of signification that contents of the culture box take from the topographically marked state of firstness, through the narrative and mythological state of secondness, and finally to the metaphoric, public discourse state of thirdness in L2 German textbooks. It has been demonstrated via this process of signification that the contents of the L2 German textbook culture box are both derived from and feed back into myths about the German Other that have historical

roots in German national identity concerns stemming largely from colonization and being reinforced through a series of 20<sup>th</sup> century developments that dissolved, altered and reunited the German speaking political realm.

But what of the L2 German textbook as a whole? In viewing the L2 text itself from the point of view of sign, it is noted that the very same signification process that occurs within the culture box is at work on a larger, parallel scale in the post-secondary L2 German text itself. As a product that is “constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it” (Barthes, 1957, p. 114), the textbook itself can be taken as a type of linguistic sign that serves to signify or stand for the whole of the German-speaking realm, which can be construed as the signified. However, it also can be taken as the type of overlapping mythological signifier that Barthes identified, as is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Language	I. Signifier	2. Signified	
MYTH	3. Sign (L2 Textbook)		
	I SIGNIFIER (L2 Textbook)		II SIGNIFIED
	III. SIGN		

*Figure 5.1.* Barthes’ sign/signifier relationship and the post-secondary L2 German textbook.

This illustrates that everything which has thus far in the dissertation been demonstrated to happen linguistically on the textbook discourse plane is brought to the genesis of the

mythological, cultural signification process for the L2 German learning community, where the signification process begins again in parallel.

However, in this case, the textbook as the sign is already laden with cultural signification as it comes into the process because textbook writers are almost exclusively members of the dominant power group and because the models which people build for themselves to help in conceptualizing their environment inherently contain elements of the dominant social model to which one is exposed. Those who speak and write about minority members, including textbook writers “persuasively formulate and communicate personal and socially shared opinions, attitudes, and ideologies” (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 97) that are held about said minority members by the majority.

When they do this in the voice of the said minority, as was demonstrated several times throughout the analyzed corpus, textbooks are engaged in the act of “. . . appropriat[ing] the discourse of others momentarily, manipul[at]ing their words to serve our needs and pass[ing] them on in new combinations for further appropriation” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 428). With each turn in this linguistic/mythological signification process of public discourse, texts are formed and reformed over time, picking up steam and validity as they progress, ultimately feeding the meta-metaphors which categorize the “Other” so conveniently and, according to Fairclough (1989) serve as instruments of social control for political organizations, mass media, and other institutions.

Textbooks are used to socialize large numbers of people, thus what is referred to as their “dually discursive” nature (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132) or their “dialectic” properties (De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999, p. 157; Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 21) that

perpetuate the positive and negative aspects inherent in their design. Such properties can be said to (1) stem from the prejudices already inherent in their designers, (2) be filtered through instructors who were presumably taught with similar materials and/or have personal, biased interactions with the C2, (3) intersect with the lack of knowledge or the preconceived notions that the L2 German learner brings to the table, and (4) extend to the creation of a society in which such attitudes are even more reinforced in a public school system. These properties will be examined more thoroughly in the commentary on the point of view of the user. For now, let us turn to the textbook from the point of view of its object.

### **The L2 German Textbook from Point of View of Object (Culture)**

In her book *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*, Kramsch (1993b) outlines what was then a summation of the most recent research and thinking on aspects of culture in the language classroom as it related to textuality, literary theory, and disciplinarity among others. I believe these viewpoints and ideas still contribute significantly to illuminating the contents of the L2 textbook from the perspective of culture as well as to a line of thinking about culture teaching that will partially inform my final comments about the direction that academic work and research in this arena should take.

In her historical overview of culture teaching in the United States, Kramsch (1993b) summarizes succinctly the contents of the literature review contained in this dissertation - a summary that I will reiterate here to reorient the reader. In her view, the two main lines of thinking that have historically informed C2 teaching have consisted of a

focus on cultural information comprised of “Big C” and “little c” facts and statistics, or a focus on anthropological or psychological approaches grounded in human behavioral patterns, both of which are criticized for making learners “passive recipients of cultural knowledge” (p. 24).

The third direction that is noted and supported in her work is one that “sees culture both as facts and meanings, but it sees it as a place of struggle between the learners’ meanings and those of native speakers” (Kramsch, 1993b). Based on this premise, she proposed four tenets for effective C2 teaching: (1) establish a sphere of interculturality, (2) teach culture as an interpersonal process, (3) teach culture as difference, and (4) cross disciplinary boundaries (pp. 205-206). The first three tenets will be commented upon with examples from the analyzed L2 German textbook corpus to determine on some level what can be seen when viewing it from the point of view of object (culture). The last tenet will be commented upon in the final comments regarding where we are to go from here with this line of inquiry.

### *Establishing a Sphere of Interculturality*

Thus far, this dissertation has only referred to C1 and C2 as its primary mode of defining native and target culture. However, in representing the true complexity of the C1/C2 relationship, Kramsch (1993b) illustrates that there is a six-fold dimensionality to the interaction of these two spheres that is represented by the following notation: C1, C1’, C1” and C2, C2’, C2” (p. 209). In this conceptualization, C1 is the “real” native culture, perhaps an abstraction that we participants of said culture can never fully reach, but nevertheless for the purposes of this illustration theoretically valid. C1’ represents the

native's perception of him/herself, while C1'' represents the C1 perception of others (members of the C2). Conversely, C2 is the abstracted real target culture, C2' the target culture member's perception of self, and C2'' the target culture member's perception of others (members of the C1).

From this perspective, the real vs. the imagined aspects of culture become very tangible, and Kramsch (1993b) indeed does allude to Anderson's (1991) *Imagined Communities* as part of her commentary on recognizing and establishing the existence of a sphere of interculturality in the L2 classroom. She demonstrates, for example, that

German learners of American English and immersed in a German C1 carry in their heads an image of the United States that corresponds to the German dream of America, nourished in part by the German literary imagination of the nineteenth century, the novels of Karl May, the role of the American army in Germany since the Second World War, and the new German Cinema (C1''). This German image of America, of which Americans are unaware, has deep roots in the way Germans perceive themselves, their hopes and fears, their dreams and aspirations (C1'). Indeed, it is often an anti-image of themselves. It has only indirectly and partially to do with American reality (C2). (p. 208)

Along the same lines, American learners of German immersed in a US American C1 also theoretically carry in their heads an image of Germany that corresponds to the American "dream" of sorts of Germany. This can be nourished in part by the previously mentioned Oktoberfest celebrations and regional customs and costumes, as well as media portrayals of the German role in World War II, which can range from the silly, such as the previously mentioned Hogan's Heroes, to sometimes horrific and one-sided portrayals of German militarism and Nazi aggression, to more balanced, subdued and serious proposals such as Schindler's List.

Just as the Germans find a need for their imagining of U.S. American society, so too does the U.S. American have needs that determine its collective concept of German society, such as “the romantic view of castles and old traditions that they miss in their own culture” (Kramersch, 1993b, p. 209). This prismatic view of interculturality explains Beitter’s (1983) earlier findings on textbook stereotypes as well as the assertion that while the surface structures of the contents of the current corpus have changed, their deep structures remain invested in the very same needs as before.

However, while the Culture Box contents of the current corpus of U.S. L2 German textbooks seem to be more focused on the realities of German society and culture than those produced from World War II until the mid 1980s, it is more accurate to say that the American C1’ need for C2” German culture frames German culture within a framework of very strong public metaphors revolving around The American Dream. The elements of this American C2” “dream” for a theoretical C2 Germany revolve around immigration, citizenship by birthright, naturalization via language learning, assimilation of difference, hard work and pulling oneself up by the proverbial bootstraps, religious plurality, and the throwing off of oppressive societal structures to secure individual rights and freedoms of self-determination.

Indeed, it is the case that “foreign language instructors . . . who teach a second or a third foreign language [or culture] to students in educational settings, generally transmit with that language a view of the world that mainly promotes the values and cultural assumptions of the L1 educational system” (Kramersch, 1993b, p.12). This is not surprising given the assertion that

American foreign language textbooks represent an educational culture that has its own agenda, and that is often more concerned about promoting American values of non-discrimination, non-sexism, religious tolerance, and physical health than about giving an authentic representation of the foreign culture. (p. 228)

By extension, we U.S. Americans must have a vested need in an ethnic German emigrant who returns to her country due to her citizenship by birthright and who learns German well enough to go to school and become a teacher, even though this is not a typical case for a Volga German. We seem to have a vested need in an East German couple who lacked under the socialist system but prospered under the clearly better capitalist system; a couple who answered the call of their Manifest Destiny that said the desired horizons of West Germany could be theirs via hard work and pulling themselves up by their bootstraps. Indeed, we seem to have an urgent need for a Fatma Yützel who integrates into society, questions the authority of her parents' religion and the old ways, throws off the oppressive structures of assumed patriarchy, and secures her individual rights and freedoms of self-determination in a somewhat foreign place.

### ***Teaching Culture as an Interpersonal Process***

However, in fulfilling the need that we U.S. Americans have for a stylized citizen of the German speaking realm, we and the materials we use fail to address the need for true dialog and real representation of the conflicts that arise in this realm of cultural meaning making. Again, by portraying fictional C1'' people as representatives of C2, and especially by representing it as a first person substantiation, no questions as to the C1', C2', and C2'' aspects of this process are raised. Indeed, nowhere do the follow up



questions or surrounding cultural materials in the corpus of analyzed U.S. L2 German texts take the learners into the sphere of the interpersonal process.

For example, “foreign language learners [are not] told how *native* readers might interpret, or have indeed interpreted the [culture box] text in its foreign cultural context, nor are they shown how their own personal experience as *non-native* readers might help them understand the experience conveyed by the narrator” (Kramsch, 1993b, pp. 125-126). Take again the example of Fatma Yützel’s statement “Maybe I’ll marry a German someday!” (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, p. 73). To the average U.S. American learner of L2 German, this statement would hardly raise an eyebrow, yet to the average German, this raises some very complex political, cultural and identity issues that could constitute a rich and informative classroom interaction.

However, it is more likely to constitute a completely lost opportunity to discuss pertinent societal issues in the German speaking realm because the C1” portrayal of the C2 incorrectly mirrors the C1’, so no further time or thought seems necessary on the topic of immigrant-native marriages in the German speaking realm. The tendency of L2 German textbook culture box materials to exist in a merged C1’/C1”/C2 state, however, is not the only problematic issue when textbooks are viewed from the perspective of the object/culture. None of the textbooks in the analyzed corpus seem to offer the kind of follow-up activities that would place students in a position from which they can “take both an insider’s and an outsider’s view” (Kramsch, 1993b, p. 210) to the materials presented to them.

### *Teaching Culture as Difference*

Highlighting similarity and difference is a readily identifiable tactic used throughout the analyzed corpus. We see, for example, that difference is a vehicle for constructing Ida Jobe, an ethnic German who is similar to the Germans and really only different in her hue; Matthias and Ulrike Sperber, who overcame differences in the Eastern and Western systems to become similar to and therefore successful in the eyes of the new (West) German norm; and Fatma Yützel, whose different parents demonstrate difficulty with things German but who strives for some level of assimilation in her own life. It seems that the textbooks are indeed demonstrating good pedagogical practices in culture teaching in at least some aspects.

However, challenging Kramsch's (1993b) views, this dissertation has demonstrated that such practices on at least some levels are counterproductive to the goal of incorporating the minority voice into the discourse, serving to reinforce myths and hegemonies which they claim to be attempting to dissolve. This claim is substantiated by other researchers in the German cultural realm, who advocate the idea that "as soon as it is elevated to an imaginary collective level, both the construction of sameness and difference violate pluralistic and democratic variety and multiplicity by group-internal homogenization (of in-groups as well as out-groups)" (DeCillia et al., 1999, pp. 153-154).

It seems that such activity "work[s] to reinforce the petrification of ethnic differences - to reduce individuals to their ethnicity, to maintain discrimination and lines of demarcation between groups and to distract attention from the political and material conditions that support a hierarchy privileging native Germans" (Radtke quoted in

Teraoka, 1997, p. 70). While this may be the case in the L1 German realm proper, the effect that highlighting cultural difference via L2 textbooks has on German learners in real time L2 contexts is something that needs to be explored further in classroom action research studies. It is also noted that there are currently no competing alternatives to the notion of teaching culture as difference, nor does this dissertation claim to suggest one. This research merely points out the results of such an approach and remains open to the question of how culture is to be taught effectively in the future.

### **The L2 German Textbook from Point of View of Interpretant (User)**

Just as the information in the culture box and the surrounding topography of the L2 textbook has been shown to follow a process of signification that results in overall meaning and discourse making for the textbook as an entity, the same process has been demonstrated to apply to the creation of stereotypes and prejudices in human cognition. In the discursive sense that the L2 German textbook writer interacts with the L2 learner of German through the text, he/she is communicating his/her internal, subconscious emotions and attitudes to the receiver, who is likely to internalize them in the form of either a reinforced, preconceived notion or a partial to whole rejection of the old or new input.

The manner in which this occurs, however, has been open to recent debate in the fields of study that account for the reception of text and other media by the reading/viewing public. The first part of this discussion centers around the application of aspects of Van Dijk's (1980) work *Macrostructures* in which the formation of social macrostructures is outlined and Markel's (1998) *Semiotic Psychology* dealing with

cognitive processes in stereotyping and prejudice formation, to materials presented in the L2 German textbook. For the purposes of the second part of this discussion, the textbook will be considered a mass medium with properties similar to that of the television and radio media and placed into a context of newer research that is less text centered and more user centered regarding the creation of meaning.

Previous research into text and meaning making generally considers the content of transmitted text to be of utmost importance to a person who is being exposed to something for the first time for two reasons, the first having to do with the event's primacy in the construction of cognitive models and the second having to do with the formation of stereotypes and prejudices. The first exposure that a person has to new input serves as the primary template for the process of constructing conceptualizations which humans use to make sense of their experiences. This template is described as a "personal, ad-hoc, and unique mental representation of an event or situation, such as one personally experienced, heard or read about" (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 99).

Theoretically, once such a model is created, everything that is heard, read or subsequently experienced relating to the realm of the model is thought to result in the model being recalled and updated, or possibly being discarded in favor of building a new one. However, it is important to note that such models almost always contain remnants of old models or elements of commonly held public beliefs on the topic (Van Dijk, 1993b). For example, the model that could potentially be created by the second-order story generated from the narrative structure of "Fatma Yützel's" portrayal is one grounded in the problematicity of the unintegrated Turkish foreigner and a lack of resolution to this

problem, as well as a commentary on the need to speak better German than Turkish to accomplish said integration.

Because it is unlikely that the L2 German learner has experienced the situation of the Turkish guest workers and their children firsthand, this narration represents either (1) ground zero for a kind of evaluative response that could build a template revolving around problematicity and non-resolution, (2) validation of an already pre-conceived notion that the Turkish presence in Germany is problematic, or, in a much less likely scenario, (3) a piece of information that conflicts with, weakens, or otherwise alters a prior positive notion about the presence of the Turkish in the German speaking realm.

In each of these cases with the possible exception of the latter, abstract prejudice is formed, consisting of “evaluative responses not based on actual experience” (Markel, 1998, p. 39). Instead, the evaluative responses formed are most likely to be gleaned from problematic textbook narratives and metaphors. At the next level, prejudice, an internalized abstraction in words, feeds stereotypes. Stereotypes are described as “exist[ing] in the existential world of sensation” (p. 39), as opposed to the abstract world of words that constitutes the textbook. Should the learner ever encounter a tangible Other depicted in the culture box, active stereotyping is a likely immediate result that in turn, is likely to be altered only by extended experience that conflicts with the initial information that the receiver/interpretant encountered.

Similarly, the process by which textual micropropositions, say of the nature of information in the culture box of a foreign language textbook, become macropropositions occurs via a process of derivation, inference and Peircian abduction based on already

codified elements on the part of the reader or user of the text similar to the Peircian sign phenomenology and the phenomenology of argument that was built upon it in Chapter 2. The stages of this process progress from weak deletion to generalization through construction and finally to strong deletion (Van Dijk, 1980). The weak and strong deletion/selection levels are concerned with how receivers of the text deal with propositions put forth by encountered texts, whereas the generalization and construction levels are primarily concerned with components of created meaning due to receiver abstraction.

According to Van Dijk (1980) text receivers initially select only information that is relevant to them personally and delete any other information that they encounter in the given field at weak deletion/selection level. At the generalization level, variation between participants and properties is disregarded. At the construction level, the text receiver connects joint sequences of propositions and creates from them macropropositions, or argumentative truth substantiations. These both come from and feed into a cognitive set based around knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, tasks, interests, values and norms. Finally, strong deletion involves the same process of disregarding personally irrelevant information, but in larger chunks after the generalization and construction levels have been completed. At this point, it is abstracted information.

While the author of this dissertation does not assume that L2 German students hold no preconceptions of German C2, in the spirit of demonstrating the processes and effects of linguistic and mythological signification, let us examine the theoretical, cognitive outcome of the significative journey that a first encounter with cultural information would take from textbook to learner according to the processes outlined

above. Using a concrete text from the analyzed corpus - “Ulrike and Matthias Sperber - A Life in Two Worlds” (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999, pp. 392-393), the path of information for an L2 German learner who had absolutely no preconceived notions about the former East Germany would theoretically be a more or less direct one consisting of internalization of presented information to the effect that East German residents had problems with the socialist/communist system that are already “known” (assumed) by the vast majority of U.S. Americans, but are perfectly happy via resolution of multiple conflict categories in the capitalist system, a “fact” or truth that substantiates said knowledge. Thus, one of Markel’s (1998) simple abstract prejudices is formed, consisting of “evaluative responses not based on actual experience” (p. 39).

For the students who do come into the L2 German classroom with some ideas of their own, or in an unlikely case, personal firsthand experience, the scenario is much more complex and cannot be easily charted because of the difficulty in accounting for the nature of preconceived knowledge and the idiosyncracies in deletion and generalization that learners bring to this complex task. Therefore, this illustration, by its very nature, is speculative, oversimplified and abstracted. However, the process it outlines via a concrete textbook example is crucial to at least a foundational understanding of why further research needs to be done in this arena and how it could be approached.

Recall from Van Dijk’s (1980) work that text receivers initially select only information that is relevant to them personally. What might be personally relevant to the average, beginning, U.S. American L2 learner of German? The substantiation of the notion that the capitalist system, to which he/she probably feels a strong affinity and is

held to be superior and perhaps even God-given, is a likely candidate. The next step is to delete any other information encountered. This would most likely result in a convenient non-attention to positive aspects of the East German system that were brought up in the first half of the narrative. At the next level of generalization, variation between participants and properties is disregarded. It seems likely at this point that whatever is valid from the perspective of Ulrike and Matthias, namely their improved life and increased happiness in a capitalist system, could be taken by the receiver as being valid for all individuals who lived in the East German system.

Van Dijk (1980) further outlines what happens next, at the construction level, where the text receiver connects joint sequences of propositions and creates from them macropropositions, or argumentative truth substantiations. Because these substantiations both come from and feed a cognitive set based around knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, tasks, interests, values and norms, there is a strong likelihood of middle-class, U.S. values and norms providing the frame for these sequence propositions, which are likely to include attention to the idea that Ulrike and Matthias do more, see more, feel more and have more and are therefore more than they were before in the old system. Combined with generalization in the preceding step, it is not difficult to conclude that this system must be better for everybody, self likely included.

Finally, Van Dijk's (1980) work posits that strong deletion involves the same process of disregarding personally irrelevant information, but in larger chunks after the generalization and construction levels have been completed. At this point, it enters the realm of abstracted information about the East German Other. Incidentally and somewhat



ironically, if this speculative scenario were true to the interaction of the L2 textbook user and the text itself, what would have really been accomplished is the validation and solidification of U.S. American beliefs and values via learning about another country.

***The Post-Secondary L2 German Textbook as Received Mass Media***

While it is useful and even somewhat entertaining to illustrate even speculative relationships between said materials and the cognitive processes outlined above, recent research on audience reception operates from a less assumptive stance, taking audience variation into account and increasing the prominence of individual receivers in the construction of personal meaning. This most recent trend is outlined in Jensen's (1995) book *The Social Semiotics of Mass Communication*, which is based around a concept of identifiable "interpretive communities" (p. 91) who interact actively with sign-mediated productions in a manner in which "the critical faculties and sensibilities of the mass audience [are] celebrated" (p. 75). Recent research on television consumption points to increasingly sophisticated and critical viewers who "autonomously select, interpret, and apply programming within their everyday context" (p. 108). Whether the German L2/C2 audience is as assertive in their use of textbooks is a wide open question, however, we can safely assume that a generation exposed to as much media as the average basic language learner is certainly influenced to some degree in that direction.

As an interpretive community, it is difficult to account for the sum total of knowledge that the L2 German learner in a typical general education context brings to the current L2/C2 German classroom. In her earlier assessment of students' knowledge of German C2, Beitter (1983) points out that most U.S. American German students in her

study brought pre-imagined and decontextualized experiences of accessible activities such as U.S. American regional Oktoberfest celebrations and television shows such as Hogan's Heroes to their classroom experience. Today, in a world of increasing access to L1 German speakers and authentic input via the Internet and the World Wide Web, it is unlikely that any student entering the classroom is an absolute blank slate. Also, the fact that they have entered a classroom to learn something "foreign" points to a notion of "Otherness" that is likely to be, by its very nature, preconceived.

Further research on individual interaction between text and receiver and a stronger notion of receiver as meaning maker vs. text as meaning maker is certainly important to understanding the textbook from the point of view of interpretant. However, Jensen (1995) warns against moving toward an extreme in which the text and its larger context are disregarded, stating

. . . reception studies that continue to focus on individuals' decoding of single texts and on their microsocial uses of media in the immediate context, so as to neglect the embedding of reception in discursive contexts and macrosocial structures beyond individual control, can run the risk of becoming theoretically incoherent and politically irrelevant. (p. 122)

This is where both lines of thought brought up regarding the interpretant reconverge. In addition to referring to macrostructural information, Jensen (1995) also refers to a type of "superflow" that represents the sum totality of information moving between media and society, relating it further to Jakobson's "metaphorical and metonymic axes of semiosis" (p. 122) This brings us full circle back to Van Dijk's (1980) claim in *Macrostructures* that while texts can be analyzed at local levels, their meaning cannot be adequately described or specified except at the global level. It also serves to

concretely illustrate the validity of a Jakobsonian dichotomy that relies on both local and global processes in the overall construction of signification and meaning.

By extension, it would thus seem plausible based on the sum total of research in this field that when large numbers of people are exposed to the same textual input under similar constraints and conditions, their cognitive processes related to proposition, argument and function formation will also be similar. Thus, many individuals being exposed to similar information, as in a foreign language book sold and used on a national level, would very likely eventually end up contributing to racist propositions that then become racial macropropositions on a larger scale than the individual L2 classroom.

It also parallels Van Dijk's (1980) work that if the information that a corpus of L2 German learners is exposed to has already been abstracted through a racist and stereotypical framework, the path from firstness to thirdness becomes somewhat shorter and the meaning-making that will occur thus becomes more quickly, readily, and easily ingrained in that community of learners. In a similar fashion as occurs within the individual mind, series of macropropositions that meet believability criteria within the L2 German learning community become generalizations (Van Dijk, 1980), which in turn, become social "facts" if not critically examined or if too little contrary evidence exists to cause the believability criteria to remain unsatisfied. Given the small number of L2 German learners who will be able to experience the target domains of the culture box first-hand and for an extended length of time, the chances for critical examination or the firsthand experience of contrary cultural evidence are not likely.

In short, language and discourse are inherently linked with social action and interaction through a process by which language users make distinctions between global and local discourse structures. Cognitively based global structures exist as a whole (in my view comparable to *langue*) relative to local, socially constrained structures where language and discourse form part of the context that influences the processing and production of knowledge (in my view comparable to *parole*). This all takes place within a cognitive set, or the context-bound state in which the processing and production of knowledge are activated and which thereby determines the nature and type of knowledge gained from the L2 culture box.

On a broader scale, the words, metonyms, metaphors, indexicals, narratives, and discourses in the L2 culture box and within other areas of the text feed the psychosociological construct models of “Otherness” which form the base of discrimination and prejudice in human beings, leading to society-wide distancing of self from other and resulting in empathies for ingroups and hostility towards outgroups (Quasthoff, 1989) on a global scale, feeding in turn the actions which are the basis for the type of negative public experiences that minorities report to ethnographic researchers in many countries and contexts (Essed, 1990).

### ***User Reception of Recent Post-Secondary L2 German Books***

Whether L2 German textbook users are engaged in the conscious or subconscious process of taking on the kinds of active stereotyping and problematic portrayals of the Other that have been clearly demonstrated in the analysis portion of this dissertation is a wide open question. Also remaining to be seen concretely is the variety of ways that such

processes play themselves out among the users of L2 German textbooks. However, despite a lack of comprehensive research in this arena, we can gain some insight into how these books are received by certain segments of the user population.

Generally speaking, one of the first public, recorded interaction that textbooks have with audiences is in the form of published reviews. A majority of the L2 German textbooks in this corpus were reviewed in various volumes of *Die Unterrichtspraxis*, representing a small, but public barometric indication of their reception within the target use community. In these reviews, the cultural content of the texts was generally not commented upon or was only touched upon superficially, unfortunately offering only a glimpse into how said materials were received across the corpus.

The reviewers of *Kontakte: A Communicative Approach* (Terrell et al., 2000) indicated that “if the grammar treatment were reworked, it would be an excellent book” (Elfe & Elfe, 1999, p. 84). Their reaction to the contents of the culture box or cultural materials in general is not thematized whatsoever. Comments regarding *Neue Horizonte* did address its culture component, the “Almanach,” briefly but specifically. The reviewer is quoted as stating, “the ‘Almanach’ presents very useful cultural background information, in both English and German, in a most appealing way” (Vogel, 1999, p. 194) and “the fifth edition aims at expanding students’ horizons and does so beautifully with regards to cultural background and information” (p. 195).

*Deutsch heute: Grundstufe* (Moeller et. al., 2000) is labeled the “Mercedes of first year German textbooks” - note the automobile metonym - (Hagen, 2001, p. 85) by its reviewer, who also makes extended comments on the cultural materials presented therein.

On average, each chapter includes five *Land und Leute* sections. All have been updated for this edition. In my experience, these cultural notes are extremely popular with students. They center on the chapter's cultural theme and provide students with in-depth information. A photograph illustrating the topic accompanies each *Land und Leute* section. Although written in English, key German vocabulary items are presented in boldface type. New to this edition of *Deutsch heute* are the discussion questions in the *Land und Leute* sections. These encourage students to compare and contrast their culture with that of German-speaking countries. (p. 86)

While the reviewer of *Deutsch: Na klar!* (DiDonato et al., 2000) fails to mention the contents of its culture box proper, she does comment on its Web site contents and applauds its comprehensive handling of "little c" concerns. The reviewer greets their presence enthusiastically, stating

. . . the most unique and interesting component is the Web site to accompany *Deutsch: Na klar!* This Web site feature provides multiple links to Web sites in German-speaking countries. It allows students to explore authentic cultural materials through Internet realia and engaging Web-based activities. Short of traveling to Germany, Austria or Switzerland, the students cannot help but to gain the necessary insights from the thirty-eight resource sites to make them culturally literate. We can shop, book a tour, reserve theater or concert tickets, find a hotel room or a special restaurant, make travel arrangements, get directions, weather forecasts, television offerings, telephone numbers and postal codes, as well as find information on topics such as the German spelling reform, media, cities and sights, politics and social concerns, the education, work and entertainment world, and current events. (Buchenau, 2000, p. 79)

Interestingly, she also comments on the book's icons, stating "the activities are well marked and identified with icons; colorful photographs, maps, diagrams and line drawings grace the page" (p. 80).

Unfortunately, the review for *Treffpunkt Deutsch* (Widmaier & Widmaier, 1999) was less comprehensive, with culture only being mentioned passively as part of a web site which "includes instantly scored practices for each chapter's vocabulary and structures;

critical thinking web-based reading and writing activities; weblinks for cultural exploration and for German pen-pals; and a *Lehrerecke* (teacher's corner) with many professional, cultural, and language links" (Campana, 2000, p. 181). This seems to be the most comprehensive information available as to the reception of cultural information in the analyzed corpus of post-secondary L2 German textbooks.

Though no recent research clarifying the properties of student interaction with L2 German textbooks was found, and while it was established in Chapter 3 that instructors are generally dissatisfied with current cultural materials offered (Olsen, 2000), we can gain some insight from textbook reviewers' comments. What this leaves us with is the question of what to do about it. Do we keep working with these materials in their current manifestation, or do we rework them?

### **A Case for Re(de-sign)ing the L2 Culture Box for the User?**

Given the nature of attitude transmission through text (sign), the primacy of the models created by the encounters with the Other (object), and the receiving of text as a sign-mediated abstraction (interpretant), it is noted that the average L2 German learner is potentially highly dependent on the information transmitted in textbooks as he/she constructs a view of the peoples of the C2. It is also noted that the student who has no preconceived notions is likely to adopt the attitude transmitted through the text producer unless it is pointed out by an informed and knowledgeable teacher that this information is potentially false and harmful.

On this front, it is important to remember that most post-secondary German instructors in the United States are white and middle class, coming either from German or

English speaking backgrounds where their C1 to C2 experiences are mediated by the myths and metaphors outlined in this dissertation. Furthermore, since only a small minority of students will experience the target culture firsthand for an extended period of time, there is little opportunity for initial models generated by textbook depictions and either propagated or not corrected by instructors to be discarded in favor of new ones built around personal experience.

It would seem, then, that one of two things must happen with the culture box. Either the contents must be changed so as not to highlight difference, or we as professionals must find new ways of dealing with difference in the culture box. Though the first and most obvious answer seems to be eliminating problematic comparison categories in the culture box, I posit that this is not possible because it has been demonstrated that (1) the signification process is dually discursive and therefore almost impossible to redesign and (2) we as human beings are dependent on difference and similarity categories in order to process information, both linguistically and cognitively.

Because the potential amount of information that a language user can receive is staggering and often fragmented, conceptual frameworks must exist in the mind to aid the organic language faculty in the processing of that input. The social and cognitive macrostructures brought up earlier are necessary and, according to Van Dijk (1980), function as filters and frameworks for (1) organizing complex information and (2) reducing complex information into manageable input that has semantic, defining, and meaning-constituting properties (pp. 14-15). Our human insistence on and need for familiar cognitive frameworks seems to point to the reality, as is also demonstrated in this



work, that the more attention is paid to re-authoring the Other, the worse the information seems to become in its “author”itive nature.

The second choice seems both more realistic and plausible, and it has the added advantage that it melds the philosophy of German Cultural Studies with learning activities in the basic language classroom. It is not the existence of the signification process itself that can or should be eliminated, rather, it is the repeated externalization of this largely internal process and the historical factors that contribute to it in this context that is key to understanding the making of meaning in and about German society. Basic language instructors can externalize this process for their students and discuss it with them, thereby adding greatly to the sophistication of themes in the German classroom and providing a springboard for truly communicative exchanges in the target language. This is a move toward “doing” culture studies in the L2 language classroom.

### **What Remains to Be Done in “Doing” Culture Studies in the L2 German Textbook?**

But what remains to be done about the nature of cultural materials as they currently manifest themselves within the analyzed corpus? There are certainly no easy answers to this question nor quick fixes to the issues it raises. The comments that follow center around some clear conclusions that can be drawn regarding the nature of culture studies in teaching and textbook design, as well as suggestions for further research. These comments do not represent total solutions, rather, an accounting of what seem to be logical next steps based on the outcomes of the work conducted in this project. They center around (1) the need to create a sense of awareness regarding culture teaching in the

L2 community, (2) the need to provide more holistic, interdisciplinary training for L2 instructors, and (3) the need for further quantitative and qualitative classroom research on the intersection between L2 textbooks and L2 learners.

*Creating a Heightened Sense of Awareness in the Teaching Community*

Heightening awareness of the nature and impact of the mediating role of instructors in L2/C2 classroom is a good first step for taking action based on the knowledge gained from this dissertation project. L2/C2 instructors of all levels serve on the front lines between portrayals of C2, the signification process of the textbook, and what is taken from the L2/C2 classroom into larger public discourses. The nature and impact of their mediating activities in the process of L2/C2 instruction needs to be better understood. Just as the textbook can function as a sign/signifier of the signified German culture, so too does the instructor signify in a much more complex role. This is a role of simultaneity in which he/she operates from the perspective of sign (by presenting the cultural materials), of object (by representing culture having lived/studied there), and of interpretant (by receiving, using, and filtering textbook materials).

In the same vein, L2 instructors who have a solid theoretical grounding in the process that textbooks engage in to perpetuate common, bourgeois myths about the signified “Other” L2/C2 take the first step in arming themselves with tools that enable them to recognize incongruities in the stated intent and actual presentation of information in textbooks and to point these out to students. Understanding and responding to this complex role and navigating it effectively in the C2 classroom is a vital component of “doing” culture studies in the L2 classroom.

### *Providing Holistic, Interdisciplinary Training for L2 Instructors*

The second component of “doing” culture studies lies in the manner in which L2 instructors have traditionally been trained. While there has been a definite push toward greater interdisciplinarity between language, literature, and culture, important components of language in its totality are still thought to belong to the purview of other disciplines and are thus downplayed if not left out entirely in the training of many future instructors. I advocate, partially as the result of Kramsch’s (1989, 1993a) and Van Cleve and Willson’s (1997) comments among others’ on interdisciplinarity in German (Studies) Departments and partially as the result of this dissertation research that linguistics, pedagogy, literature, language, and culture (including history) constitute the totality of what is conceptualized as having attained mastery in an L2.

In addition, linguistics, pedagogy, literature, language, and culture perhaps ought to serve as five fundamental points of L2 teacher training at all levels in which proficiency standards are set and mastery is demonstrated. This would serve to create

. . . teachers who have the near-native linguistic and cultural competence in the language necessary for them to serve as models of native-speaker discourse in the classroom; teachers who are distanced enough from both the target culture and the native culture to be able to conceptualize and interpret the target culture from a native and a target cultural perspective; teachers who have a knowledge of how language and language acquisition work, how communication takes place, who have a critical understanding of the particular worldview espoused by natives of the target culture *and* those of the native culture, that is, who have reflected knowledge of the society, the history and the literature of both cultures. . . . In short . . . teachers of intercultural communication. (Kramsch, 1989, pp.7-8)

More specific to the results of this dissertation, accessible teacher training materials could be developed from an applied pedagogical perspective that address the manner in which

textbook materials are received by L2 learners and ways in which cultural materials can be effectively didacticized for L2/C2 classroom use in order to achieve the goal of creating intercultural and linguistic competence in the L2 classroom.

*Doing Quantitative and Qualitative Classroom Research  
on L2 Textbooks and L2 Learners*

To this end, and before the previous goal can be accomplished, serious qualitative and quantitative studies on the effect of L2 textbook cultural materials on L2 learners' perceptions of the C2 will need to be designed, conducted, interpreted, published, and acted upon. While this dissertation has served to effectively point out the reasons why such studies are needed, it unfortunately could not include such classroom research in its scope. It is hoped that the theoretical research conducted in this dissertation will provide a basis and demonstrated need for - as well as a springboard into - applied classroom action research by myself and others in the future.

One quantitative example of this type of research could include having students complete pre- and post textbook use stereotype inventories related to perceptions of the target culture and then comparing the individual item results for the purpose of measuring which stereotypes were reinforced or diminished by textbook materials. Some qualitative examples could include interviewing students about their reading processes and interpretations of culture box texts, or having them rewrite such texts from memory in order to uncover interpretive frames that help determine their reading of said texts. This technique was found useful by Kramsch (1993b), who used it to analyze how various

members of C1 and C2 groups understood the underlying signficatory processes of a cross-cultural corpus of television commercials.

A theoretically grounded, articulated demonstration of the culturally influenced secondary narratives and the metaphors and discourses created at the intersection of textbook publishers and L2 learners may prove to be the impetus for positive change in the post-secondary L2 German textbook of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It may also lend further substantiation to Kramsch's (1993b) suggestion that

American Studies teachers in Germany should collaborate with German Studies teachers in the United States in the writing of textbooks and the design of cultural materials. Difficult aspects of both societies - such as class, status, ethnicity, private vs. public spheres, power and control, authority and anti-authoritarianism, social rights and opportunities - could profit from being apprehended from different perspectives and through different systems of thought. (p. 223)

Quality research and corresponding quality change, however, take time if they are to be accomplished thoroughly and correctly. For now, it is crucial that L2 language teachers not only have a command of the language and the craft of its effective teaching, but that they are also informed about the realities of the minority populations in the geographic/political realms where their target languages are spoken, able to articulate that reality independently of the textbooks they are given to choose from, and most importantly, willing to equip L2 learners with a critical eye for the information they receive and engage them in critical dialog about it. In other words, until further classroom research and textbook development by publishers result in less problematic representations of the "Other," and until the initiative is taken to organize and fund the kind of systematic, real time, cross-cultural textbook collaboration that Kramsch (1993b)

advocates, both instructor and student would do well to understand and apply the intricacies of “How to Read a German Textbook.”

APPENDIX A:  
QUOTED TEXTBOOK MATERIALS  
IN THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

**1. Culture Box text from Widmaier and Widmaier, (1999), *Treffpunkt Deutsch*. Upper Saddle Brook, NJ: Heinle. 322-23.**

*Ida Jobe: Eine Russlanddeutsche aus Kasachstan erzählt vom Kulturshock nach der Ankunft in Deutschland.*

Im Jahr 1763 hat die russische Zarin Katharina II. deutsche Kolonisten nach Russland gerufen. So sind meine Vorfahren in die Ukraine gekommen und sie haben dort fast 200 Jahre lang in einem Dorf gelebt, das eine Deutsche Schule und eine deutsche Kirche hatte. Aber unter Stalin haben sie wie alle Bauern in der Sowjetunion ihr Land verloren und mussten auf eine Kolchose arbeiten. Ihre Kinder mussten in russische Schulen gehen und haben bald kein Deutsch mehr gesprochen.

1941 ist dann die deutsche Armee in die Sowjetunion einmarschiert und meine Großeltern haben gehofft, ihr Land und ihre Schulen wieder zurückzubekommen. Aber 1945 hat Deutschland den Krieg verloren und die Sowjets haben uns Deutsche weit nach Osten umgesiedelt. Ich bin deshalb nicht in der Ukraine geboren, sondern in der Sowjetrepublik Kasachstan. Dort habe ich auch studiert und bin Mathematiklehrerin geworden. Wir haben aber nie vergessen, dass wir Deutsche sind, und von 1978 ab haben wir immer wieder versucht, die Erlaubnis zur Ausreise nach Deutschland zu bekommen. Als wir dann 1985 endlich ausreisen durften, waren wir ganz glücklich.

Es war nicht leicht für uns, hier in Deutschland Deutsch zu lernen und lang in Lagern zu leben, bevor wir endlich Arbeit und eine Wohnung finden konnten. Das größte Problem aber war, dass Deutschland für uns noch das Land war, das unsere Vorfahren vor über 200 Jahren verlassen hatten: ein Land, wo die Menschen sonntags in die Kirche gehen, wo sie Volkslieder singen und an Feiertagen Trachten tragen und Volkstänze tanzen. Das moderne Deutschland war deshalb ein großer Schock für uns: ein hochindustrialisiertes Land, wo die Kirchen oft fast leer sind, wo die jungen Leute in Rockkonzerte und in die Disco gehen und wo Drogen und Aids uns Angst um unsere Kinder machen.

Ich habe 1986 angefangen, noch einmal zu studieren, und seit 1990 bin ich Lehrerin an einer Hauptschule in Ulm. Viele von meinen Schülern sind Kinder von Ausländern und ich verstehe ihre Probleme oft viel besser als die Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die in Deutschland geboren und aufgewachsen sind.



**2. Culture Box text from Widmaier and Widmaier, (1999), *Treffpunkt Deutsch*. Upper Saddle Brook, NJ: Heinle. 392-93.**

*Ulrike und Matthias Sperber: ein Leben in zwei Welten*

Die Zahnärzte Ulrike und Matthias Sperber sind beide in der ehemaligen DDR geboren, haben sich als Studenten kennen gelernt und haben gleich nach dem Studium geheiratet. Weil in der DDR der Staat für die Ausbildung und sogar für den Lebensunterhalt der Studenten bezahlte, hat das Studium sie fast nichts gekostet. Nach der Ausbildung arbeiteten sie wie alle Zahnärzte in der DDR in einer staatlichen Zahnklinik. Sie verdienten je 900 Mark im Monat, egal ob sie viele oder wenige Patienten behandelten. Ihre Wohnung in einem der riesigen und für die DDR so typischen Hochhäuser war nach westlichem Standard winzig und primitiv, aber sie bezahlten dafür auch nur 60 Mark im Monat. Nach einer Wartezeit von fünfzehn Jahren konnten sie endlich einen Trabant bekommen, das winzige Standardauto der DDR. Damit fuhren sie im Urlaub an die Ostsee, in die Tschechoslowakei, nach Ungarn oder nach Bulgarien. Reisen in die BRD und in andere westliche Länder waren verboten. Es war ein bescheidenes Leben, besonders verglichen mit dem, was sie täglich in westdeutschen Fernsehprogrammen zu sehen bekamen. Weil die beiden den kommunistischen Staat nicht offen kritisierten, war es aber auch ein stress- und risikofreies Leben.

Nach der Wiedervereinigung im Jahr 1990 wurde die ostdeutsche Zahnmedizin privatisiert und Ulrike und Matthias mussten Räume für eine eigene Praxis mieten, sie renovieren und mit modernster zahnmedizinischer Technik ausrüsten. Sie brauchten dazu Kredite von über 300 000 Mark und möglichst viele Patienten, um diese Kredite zurückzahlen zu können. Weil sie marktwirtschaftliches Denken nie gelernt hatten, war das ein großer Schock für sie, und besonders Matthias hatte manchmal große Angst und tiefe Depressionen.

Inzwischen haben sich die beiden an westliches Denken gewöhnt. Sie arbeiten jetzt viel mehr und ihr Leben ist oft ziemlich stressig, aber auch viel interessanter. Sie verdienen viel mehr, sie fahren einen VW Passat, und seit ein paar Jahren haben sie sogar ein schönes Einfamilienhaus. Im Urlaub fahren sie jetzt nach Westeuropa oder fliegen auch schon mal in die USA, und wie die meisten Bürger der ehemaligen DDR sind sie sehr froh, dass Deutschland wieder ein Land ist.

**3. Culture Box text from Widmaier and Widmaier, (1999), *Treffpunkt Deutsch*. Upper Saddle Brook, NJ: Heinle. 73.**

*Fatma Yützel erzählt: Freundschaft, türkisch und deutsch*

Ich heiße Fatma Yützel und bin fünfzehn Jahre alt. Meine Eltern kommen aus der Türkei. Sie leben seit 1975 in Berlin und ich bin hier in Berlin geboren. Wir wohnen in einem großen Mietshaus und haben dort viele Nachbarn, Türken und Deutsche. Am Abend und am Wochenende besuchen wir oft unsere türkischen Nachbarn, oder die Nachbarn besuchen uns, denn unsere Nachbarn sind auch unsere Freunde. Unsere deutschen Nachbarn besuchen wir nie, und Deutschen besuchen ihre deutschen Nachbarn auch fast nie. Meine Eltern denken, die Deutschen sind kalt und haben keine Freunde. Aber meine Schulfreundin Melanie sagt, das ist gar nicht so. Melanie ist Deutsche und sie sagt, ihre Eltern haben sehr gute Freunde. Diese Freunde sind aber nicht ihre Nachbarn, sondern Freunde aus der Schulzeit oder Arbeitskollegen. Also sind die Deutschen gar nicht kalt, sondern nur anders als wir Türken.

Meine Eltern sprechen fast kein Deutsch und sie haben deshalb nur sehr wenig Kontakt mit Deutschen. Ich spreche und schreibe sehr gut Deutsch und ich bin oft bei Melanie, denn ich finde nicht nur sie, sondern auch ihren Bruder David sehr nett. Aber das sage ich zu Hause nicht, denn in der Türkei hat ein ordentliches Mädchen keinen Freund, und die Eltern finden den Mann für ihre Tochter. Aber ich bin hier in Deutschland geboren, spreche viel besser Deutsch als Türkisch und vielleicht heirate ich mal einen Deutschen (Widmaier and Widmaier, 1999:73).

**4. Reading exercise from Dollenmayer and Hanson, (1999), *Neue Horizonte*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 175-176.**

Ein Brief aus Freiburg

*Claudia Martens hat gerade einen Brief von ihrem amerikanischen Freund Michael Hayward bekommen. Claudia war ein Jahr in Amerika als Austauschschülerin an Mikes Schule in Atlanta. Sie schickt ihm sofort eine Antwort.*

Jedenfalls ist das Essen in der Mensa immer billig und relative gut, aber mit dem Wohnen ist es manchmal eine Katastrophe. Es gibt nicht genug Studentenwohnheime für alle Studenten und private Buden sind wahnsinnig teuer geworden. Die Wohnungsnot ist besonders schlimm: Wir sind seit der Wiedervereinigung überflutet von Deutschen aus der ehemaligen DDR und von Aussiedlern aus Osteuropa. Übrigens habe ich letztes Semester einigen Schülkindern aus zwei Aussiedlerfamilien Nachhilfestunden in Deutsch gegeben, denn diese neuen Bürger können oft nur wenig Deutsch.

**5. Grammar and vocabulary exercise from Terrell, Tschirner, and Nikolai, (2000), *Kontakte*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill. 248.**

*Im letzten Urlaub waren Maria und Michael in Marokko.*

[Under an illustration of a woman on a camel]

Zuerst ist Maria auf einem Kamel geritten.

[Under an illustration of a man and a woman shopping]

Dann hat sie mit Michael einen Basar besucht.

[Under an illustration of a dark man with a mustache putting a hat on another man]

Michael hat sich dort einen Hut gekauft.

[Under an illustration of a young, dark-haired boy taking a wallet from a man's pocket]

Leider hat jemand dabei Michaels Brieftasche gestohlen.

**6. Reading text excerpt from Dollenmayer and Hanson, (1999), *Neue Horizonte*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 146.**

*Klaus Ostendorff (53 Jahre alt), Journalist*

Ostendorff lebt mit seiner Frau Martina und ihren drei Kindern in Washington.

Die Kinder sollen ihre Muttersprache nicht vergessen und darum spricht die Familie zu Hause meistens Deutsch.

**7. Grammar exercise excerpt from DiDonato, Clyde, and Vansant, (2000), Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill. 92.**

**Übung 4 - Im Café Kadenz**

Several students are conversing at different tables at the Café Kadenz. Complete the blanks with appropriate personal pronouns in the nominative or the accusative case.

3. E: Und wie findest du deine Mitbewohner im Wohnheim?  
 F: Ich mag (*like*) sie nicht besonders. Ich finde sie unfreundlich. Aber da sind zwei Italienerinnen aus Venedig. Sie sind wirklich nett. Ich verstehe sie allerdings nicht immer, besonders wenn sie italienisch sprechen.

**8. Listening exercise from Dollenmayer and Hanson, (1999), *Neue Horizonte*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 156.**

An der Uni in Tübingen

Petra: Hast du den Peter schon kennen gelernt?

Klaus: Ist das der Austauschstudent aus Kanada?

Petra: Ja. Er kann fantastisch Deutsch, nicht?

Klaus: Ich glaube, er hat schon zwei Semester in Konstanz studiert.

Petra: Ach, darum!

**9. Listening exercise from Dollenmayer and Hanson, (1999), *Neue Horizonte*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 429.**

"Wo liegt die Heimat?"

*Demetra, SchüerIn aus einer Gastarbeiterfamilie, wird für die Schülerzeitung interviewt.*

Interviewer: Es überrascht mich, dass Du als Ausländerin so perfekt Deutsch kannst.

Demetra: Kein Wunder, ich bin doch hier geboren. Viele halten mich sogar für eine Deutsche.

Interviewer: Aber ihr kommt doch aus Griechenland, nicht? Wo fühlst Du dich eigentlich zu Hause?

Demetra: Das frag ich mich auch. Hier kenne ich mich besser aus, aber mir ist klar, dass ich nicht von allen Deutschen akzeptiert werde.

**10. Reading exercise from Terrell, Tschirner, and Nikolai, (2000), *Kontakte*. New York: NY: McGraw-Hill. 68.**

Guten Tag, ich heiße Mehmet Sengün. Ich bin 29 und in Izmir, in der Türkei, geboren. Ich lebe jetzt seit 19 Jahren hier in Berlin. Ich wohne in Kreuzberg, einem Stadtteil von Berlin, in einer kleinen Wohnung. In Kreuzberg leben sehr viele Türken - die Berliner nennen es Klein-Istanbul - und viele meiner türkischen Freunde wohnen ganz in der Nähe. Im Moment arbeite ich für eine Speditionsfirma hier in der Stadt. Ich fahre einen Lastwagen und bin viel unterwegs. Ich weiß nicht, aber richtig zu Hause fühle ich mich in Berlin auch nicht und für die Deutschen bin ich immer der Türke.

**11. Listening/reading excerpt from Dollenmayer and Hanson, (1999), *Neue Horizonte*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 387.**

Two Swiss introduce themselves

*Dr. Anton Fischer (45 Jahre alt), Rechtsanwalt aus Basel*

Wenn man sagt, dass man aus der Schweiz kommt, denken viele Menschen automatisch an saubere Strassen, Schokolade, Uhren, Käse und an die Schweizer Garde im Vatikan. Darüber ärgere ich mich immer ein bisschen. Ich möchte lieber, dass andere wissen, was für eine politische Ausnahme die Schweiz in Europa bildet. Ich werde versuchen, ihnen etwas davon zu beschreiben.

**12. Listening/reading excerpts from Dollenmayer and Hanson, (1999), *Neue Horizonte*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 416.**

Two Austrians introduce themselves

*Dr. Ulrich Kraus, Psychologe aus Wien*

Mein Name ist Kraus und ich bin Psychologe. Mit meinen Patienten und ihren Problemen habe ich mehr als genug zu tun; erwarten Sie also nicht von mir, dass ich den Durchschnittsösterreicher analysiere. Ich könnte aber mindestens versuchen diesen Menschen - den *homo austriacus* - ein bisschen zu beschreiben

Viele Österreicher würden den Unterschied zwischen sich und den Deutschen so ausdrücken. Die Deutschen sind fleißig, aber die Österreicher sind gemütlich...

**13. Reading excerpt from Moeller et. al. (2000) *Deutsch heute*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 172**

Beim Lesen

Andreas Obermaier aus Graz besucht seine amerikanische Kusine Sandra Heller. Sie ist Deutschprofessorin. Er kommt mit in ihren Deutschkurs und spricht mit den Studenten über Österreich.

Wahrscheinlich kennen Sie die meisten Österreich-Klischees schon. Sie sind nicht nur wahr, sondern meistens auch positiv. Nehmen wir zum Beispiel das Klischee "Österreich - das Land der Musik. Musik war und ist sehr wichtig für uns Österreicher. Viele weltberühmte Komponisten wie Haydn, Mozart und Schubert waren Österreicher, und bis heute gibt es jedes Jahr zahlreiche Musikfeste.

**14. Grammar exercise from Terrell, Tschirner, and Nikolai (2000) *Kontakte*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill. 431.**

Übung 4 Gute Gründe?

Verbinden Sie Sätze aus der ersten Gruppe mit Sätzen aus der zweiten Gruppe mit Hilfe der Konjunktionen **weil**, **damit**, **um...zu**. Wenn Ihnen ein Grund nicht gefällt, suchen Sie einen besseren Grund.

1. Ich möchte immer hier leben, weil dieses Land das beste Land der Welt ist.
2. Ich möchte für ein Paar Jahre in Deutschland leben, um richtig gut Deutsch zu lernen.
3. Ausländer haben oft Probleme, weil sie die Sprache und Kultur des Gastlandes nicht verstehen.
4. Wenn ich Kinder habe, möchte ich hier leben, damit meine Kinder als (Amerikaner, Kanadier, Australier, usw.) aufwachsen.
5. Viele Ausländer kommen hierher, weil man hier gut Geld verdienen kann.
6. Englisch sollte die einzige offizielle Sprache (der USA, Kanadas, Australiens usw.) sein, damit eine homogene Gemeinschaft aus der multikulturellen Bevölkerung wird.

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